

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST



London, Tuesday, November 15, 1994

No. 34,746



GAZA PROTESTERS — Members of the Palestinian fundamentalist group Islamic Jihad at a rally Monday at which a Jihad leader spoke about continuing the "struggle of killing Israelis." The rally was held outside the

home of a 21-year-old suicide bomber on a bicycle who detonated a bomb that killed three Israeli soldiers on Friday. Jihad activists have begun wearing white, the color of the cloth Muslims use to wrap bodies for burial. Page 5.

Im Hollander/Reuters

Security Council Refuses to Lift Iraq Sanctions

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The Security Council refused Monday to lift economic sanctions on Iraq.

The 15-nation council rejected Iraq's claim that it has met conditions to lift an oil embargo and other sanctions imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait, said Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. representative to the UN.

The British UN ambassador, Sir David Hannay, said there was no dissent in the 15-member council "about retaining the sanctions, imposed in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait."

"There was no dissent at all," he said. "It was the view of all members who spoke — and I think everybody in the council spoke — that the conditions did not exist for changing the sanctions," Sir David said.

He said there was a "very broad welcome" in the council for a letter received from the Iraqi deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, formally recognizing the independence of Kuwait as demarcated by a UN panel.

The sanctions were extended after the war to force Iraq to help destroy its weapons of mass destruction and to drop claims to Kuwait.

Iraq contends shortages caused by the sanctions are inflicting suffering and death. Washington and its allies say Iraq can afford food and medicine for its people but is aggravating their suffering as a propaganda ploy.

Iraq has refused a chance to sell oil worth \$1.6 billion under UN supervision to pay for food and medicine.

Mrs. Albright also said Iraq has asked for humanitarian exemptions from the UN embargo to import fur coats, brass beds, marble tiling, TVs and VCRs.

She told the council that President Saddam Hussein "has spent half a billion dollars on building literally dozens of opulent new palaces for the exclusive use of his family," according to a U.S. statement (Page 5).

In a meeting with Mrs. Albright that lasted just two minutes, Mr. Aziz argued that Iraq had met the conditions for lifting sanctions by recognizing the new UN-drawn Kuwaiti border.

"The council has imposed sanctions on Iraq for certain reasons and those reasons do not exist any more," Mr. Aziz said afterward. (AP, Reuters)

Berlusconi Wins Key Vote In Battle of the Budget

Reuters

ROME — Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy won a vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies on Monday on a key revenue-raising measure in its 1995 budget.

The vote, on an amnesty in the budget bill for Italians guilty of illegal building work in exchange for a single payment, was 321 to 134.

Opposition filibustering delayed the vote by several hours and many opposition deputies boycotted the ballot.

The 1995 budget, opposed by trade unions that held a protest Saturday attended by a million people, aims to reduce next year's deficit by some 48 trillion lire (\$30 billion) through a mix of spending cuts and revenue increases, mainly in the areas of health care and pensions.

Six trillion lire of the extra revenue is due to come from the measure that Mr. Berlusconi made a confidence issue.

Mr. Berlusconi submitted the confidence vote on the building pardon to block some 250 amendments that had threatened to hold up the budget's passage through Parliament.

It was the first time he had resorted to

such a tactic, but the prime minister gave notice on Monday that his center-right coalition would do it again whenever it thought the budget was in danger.

"This is not an act of weakness or of arrogance but an act of respect toward voters who elected this government."

Before the vote, dozens of members of the leftist Progressives bloc asked to address the Chamber of Deputies in a tactic designed to hold up proceedings for hours.

Accusing Mr. Berlusconi of riding roughshod over Parliament, they vowed to wreck passage of the entire budget if the government resorted to confidence votes on other provisions, including bitterly contested pension reforms.

"Our stand on this confidence vote should serve as a warning," Fiamiano Crisciani, of the hard-line Communist Refoundation Party, said on the floor. "This arbitrariness and arrogance must stop."

Luigi Berlinguer, the Progressive parliamentary leader, said his group would leave the chamber before the vote. "We will return to our seats when the rules are restored," he said.

By law, Parliament must approve the budget by the end of the year.

Kiosk U.S. Will Stick To Haiti Schedule

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Clinton administration plans no acceleration in the troop withdrawal from Haiti despite Republican wishes, Defense Secretary William J. Perry said Monday.

"They will not all be out by Thanksgiving by a long shot," Mr. Perry said. "Our plan, as we've announced before, is to reduce to about 9,000 troops in Haiti by the end of the month," the secretary added. "There will be further reductions in December."

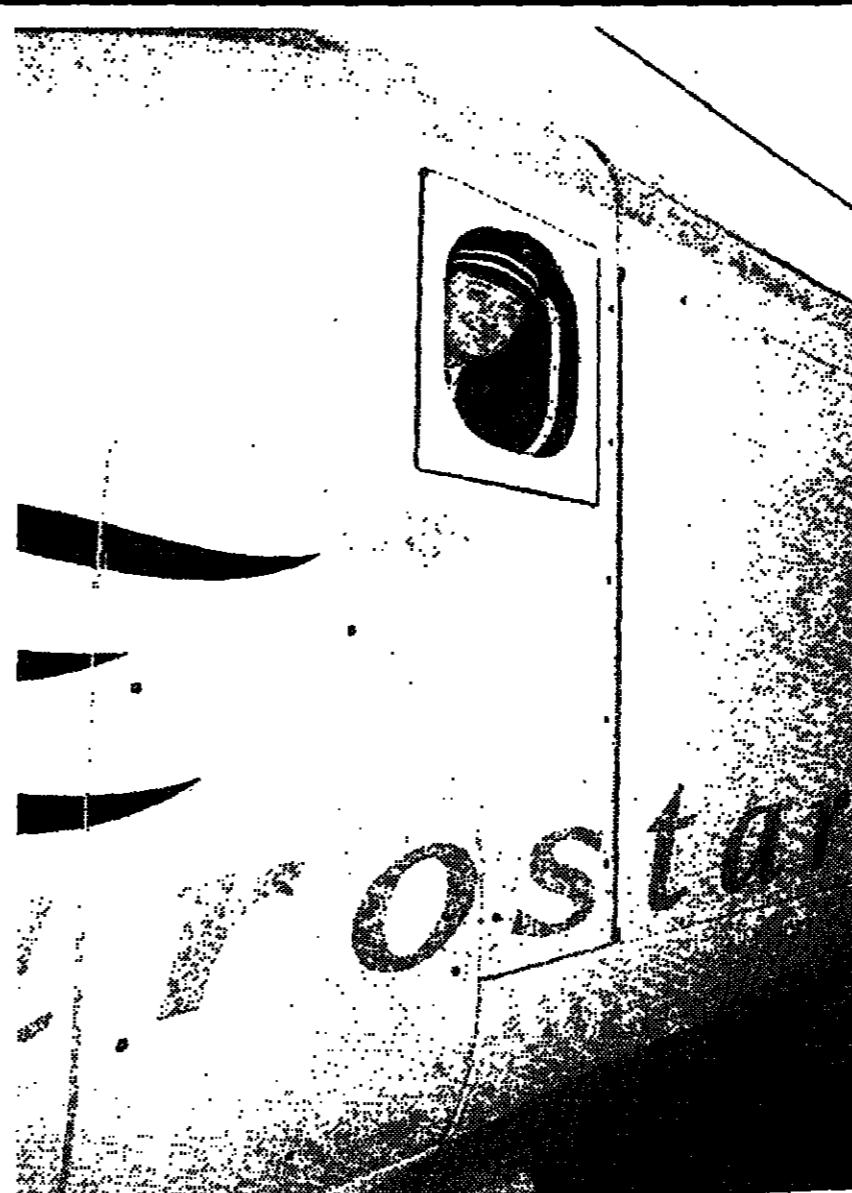
Fresh Talks on Ulster

LONDON (AFP) — Prime Minister John Major said Monday that his government hoped to start talks on Northern Ireland with representatives of loyalist paramilitary forces by the end of the year.

His announcement comes five weeks after the Ulster loyalists declared a cease-fire, and two-and-a-half months after the Irish Republican Army called a cessation.

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Dow Jones	Trib Index
Up 28.26	Down 0.17%
3829.73	114.35
The Dollar	
New York Mon. close 1.5446	previous close 1.5313
DIM 1.5865	1.5988
Pound 98.30	97.725
Ven 5.3095	5.264



INAUGURAL RUN — A high-speed train leaving Paris for London on Monday on its first under-the-Channel trip for paying passengers. Page 2.

In U.S., a Peculiar War Cry Militias' on Guard Against Washington

By Keith Schneider

New York Times Service

BRUTUS, Michigan — On a raw, damp weekend morning near this town at the top of Lake Michigan, some 100 members of a group calling itself the Michigan Militia have convened amid the scrub pine to practice military techniques many long ago forgot.

Although the training is unsophisticated and the breathing ragged for the middle-aged self-styled warriors, the purpose of the assault maneuvers and target practice is deadly serious, they say. The Michigan Militia is preparing to defend itself against the U.S. government.

In the six months since it was formed here in Emmet County, the organization has started chapters, or "brigades,"

throughout Michigan, said Ray Southwell, the group's information officer.

Similar groups, which all call themselves militias, have sprung up in at least 20 states, from Florida to Washington State, say civil liberties and research organizations that track the movement.

What they have in common is opposition to gun control. But most of them also harbor far-fetched conspiracy theories that the federal government wants to utterly control the lives of citizens and will crush those who resist, by means up to and including using United Nations troops with old Soviet military equipment. They are, by and large, all-white groups.

The Justice Department says it does not monitor the so-called militia movement, and the civil liberties organizations that track it say it is impossible to determine how many people are involved. But, the experts contend, the numbers are not as important as what the movement represents: alienation so acute among a small group of Americans that they are arming themselves against what they see as an apocalyptic takeover.

The militia movement is a widespread phenomenon, involving people in every region of the country, linked together by

more than just a clever marketing gimmick,

the still-evolving blueprint embraces transportation links, international marinas, joint protection of natural areas — even a proposal for cross-border windsurfing.

"We are talking about making it one agglomeration, to establish complementary activities," said Adel Rady, technical director for Egypt's Tourist Development Authority. "None of this would have been possible unless there was a peaceful environment."

But some fear the boom could be ephemeral.

Despite the recent peace treaty between Israel and Jordan — Israel and Egypt made peace in 1979 — terrorism and political instability continue to cast long shadows on the region, causing jitters in a

tourism industry notoriously sensitive to both.

Even more ominous, perhaps, are growing environmental threats to the delicate living reef. With financial help from the European Union, Egypt has embarked on a race against time to establish parks and protected coastal zones in a rare attempt to balance preservation with the pressing economic needs of a Third World country.

"If the government doesn't move fast, this will all die here," said Anatina Pinchuk, manager of the Movenpick Hotel in Sharm el Sheikh's Naama Bay, where the number of hotels has tripled in the last four years. "The corals we are selling in Europe — this will go."

Not long ago, an integrated tourist zone

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Asians Look to U.S. For Trade Leadership

Embassy Sit-In Forces Issue of Human Rights

By Paul Blustein and Thomas W. Lippman

Washington Post Service

JAKARTA — President Bill Clinton found himself caught in an awkward spot on Monday, trying to advance a major trade initiative with some of the world's most authoritarian regimes without appearing callous about human rights.

Mr. Clinton, who came to the summit meeting of Asia-Pacific nations here boasting that his mission would promote U.S. exports in the world's fastest-growing region, was forced to confront the human-rights question after widely publicized demonstrations by protesters favoring independence for the Indonesian-occupied territory of East Timor.

The controversy is threatening to divert attention from the trip's centerpiece, scheduled for unveiling Tuesday — a declaration by the 18 members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum pledging to establish free trade in the region by the early years of the next century.

Administration officials argued that the free-trade proposal would boost human rights in countries like Indonesia and China by spurring economic growth and helping to build a democracy-minded middle class. But that message was hard to convey amid television broadcasts showing rioters battling police in Dili, East Timor's capital city, and Timorese students barricaded in the U.S. Embassy, pleading for "the world's only superpower" to help end Indonesia's rule over their territory.

[The 29 protesters in the U.S. Embassy

submitted a petition to officials Monday

calling for the release of about 100 East Timorese arrested over the weekend in Jakarta and in Dili, Agence France-Presse reported. They also demanded the release of the jailed resistance leader, Jose Xanana Gusmão, so he could take part in talks with Jakarta authorities. And they demanded that the U.S. government help them obtain political asylum in Portugal.

[Mr. Clinton said that the United States

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Regional Pact Needs GATT to Work, They Say

By Michael Richardson

International Herald Tribune

JAKARTA — Asian and Pacific leaders are expected to endorse a historic free-trade accord on Tuesday, but they will link its success to ratification by the United States and other major economic powers of the GATT world trade pact, officials said Monday.

Such a move would strengthen the hand of President Bill Clinton as he seeks support from a Republican-controlled Congress in a critical vote on the global Uruguay Round trade accord negotiated by more than 100 countries under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Failure to ratify the Uruguay Round accord, a U.S. official warned Monday, could divide the world into three trade blocs centered in Europe, the Americas and Asia.

After talks with President Jiang Zemin of China, Prime Minister Tomio Murayama of Japan, President Kim Young Sam of South Korea and Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia, Mr. Clinton said that in each of the meetings there was "strong agreement that the early ratification of GATT would be absolutely essential" to maintain global economic growth and expanding trade.

"It was clear to me that the rest of the world is looking to the United States for leadership on this issue," he said.

Mr. Clinton said he believed discussions

Tuesday among leaders of the 18 members of APEC, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, "will allow us to take a critical step forward toward free and open trade throughout the region." The informal summit meeting will take place in the Indonesian city of Bogor.

The APEC leaders met over a working dinner on Monday in Jakarta to discuss their planned declaration at Bogor.

Officials said that on Tuesday, the leaders would probably announce a plan to adopt free and open trade in the Asia-Pacific region by 2020 at the latest for developing countries and by 2010 for developed and newly industrializing economies.

The members of APEC are Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and the United States. They account for half of world production and around 45 percent of global trade.

Officials said APEC leaders were expec-

ted to call for the liberalization program to start in 1995 through implementation of agreements made under the Uruguay Round of GATT.

Evidently picking up on this theme, Mr. Clinton noted that one third of U.S. exports already went to the Asia-Pacific re-

gion.

Yeltsin Tells His Generals: Shape Up Army

By Steven Erlanger

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Speaking on Monday to top military commanders, President Boris N. Yeltsin expressed unhappiness with their work, urged greater military readiness and said he expected new frictions with the United States under a Congress controlled by the Republican Party.

"After the victory of conservatives at the U.S. midterm election we can expect a certain toughening of the U.S. stand in foreign policy and military issues," Mr. Yeltsin said. He said the government should establish closer ties to the Republicans "to balance our relations."

But he concentrated on military matters, at a delicate time for the armed forces, which have been shaken by scandal, with persistent allegations of corruption in the press.

The job of the defense minister, General Pavel S. Grachev, is thought to be on the line after Mr. Yeltsin dismissed one of his deputies, General Mavrei P. Burlakov. The former commander of Soviet troops in Eastern Germany, General Burlakov is alleged to have profited by the illegal sale of fuel, arms and real estate during their withdrawal.

General Grachev sat with Mr. Yeltsin, and the two exchanged pleasantries, as they did during the final of the Kremlin Cup tennis tournament on Sunday. Mr. Yeltsin wants to keep General Grachev, who has been loyal and has tried to downsize the military and redefine its doctrine in better keeping with a new, more democratic Russia.

But in his address, Mr. Yeltsin hinted that more personnel changes were to come by speaking so openly about the shortcomings of the military command. And he said he was scheduling separate meetings with the commanders of the various services within the armed forces.

Mr. Yeltsin said that commanders were not taking full responsibility for their sol-

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THE AMERICAS / ON TO DES MOINES

With Clinton Vulnerable, the Republican Wallflowers Begin to Blossom

By Richard L. Berke
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — So, Mr. Big Shot Republican. You just won control of the Senate. Where do you go next? Des Moines.

Rather than head for the Capitol to plot legislative strategy, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, who is in line to be majority leader, went to Iowa, where the earliest presidential caucuses will be.

Senator Phil Gramm of Texas was also there. So was Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, who also visited New Hampshire on Monday, traditional home of the first primary.

For months, Republicans with designs on the White House had been coy about their plans, even though some had lined up campaign managers, pollsters and media consultants. But, now that the midterm elections have ended in a Republican landslide, many have dropped the charade. While no one

has formally announced, candidates are openly running for president.

Mr. Dole said he was in Iowa to attend a post-election party for Governor Terry E. Branstad. Mr. Gramm was more direct. Friday, he said he was "just basically visiting people" to talk about the 1994 campaign and his own effort for 1996.

Mr. Gramm said on Sunday that he planned to file papers Monday or Tuesday to start his campaign. Mr. Specter announced Monday that he had formed a committee to explore whether he should seek his party's presidential nomination.

The interest in Des Moines became even more pronounced after President Bill Clinton's humiliation over his party's loss of both houses of Congress.

And his weakened hold on the government and the electorate may motivate even more prospective presidential candidates who were wavering until now.

"Anybody who has any credentials at all is going to take half a stab at it," said Alex Castellanos, a

Republican consultant whose company has worked for Mr. Dole and Mr. Gramm and who is being courted by them for 1996. "Ultimately, it may boil down to a bunch of old faces. The big question is: Is there anybody new out there, or is it going to have to be a person like a Phil Gramm or a Bob Dole to carry the water for us?"

The current climate is the flip side of four years ago, when star Democrats resisted running, figuring that President George Bush had a clear shot for re-election in the aftermath of the Gulf War. Most Democrats did not announce until late 1991.

This year, many Republicans are expected to announce soon after New Year's. Particularly in view of the election results, many see Mr. Clinton as a one-term president who could face strong primary challenges from Democrats on the left and the right.

Another important calculation is that Republicans won the governorships in seven of the eight states with the most electoral votes, handing the

party's nominee an enormous organizational and fund-raising advantage.

Republican contenders wasted no time in trying to turn the rout to their advantage. Several campaigned actively for various candidates this fall and, indeed, they took credit for playing a role in the outcome.

Some like Mr. Gramm, went so far as to say the election was a referendum on their presidential bids. "If voters endorsed the position that has been advocated by anyone who is likely to run for president in '96," he said, "they endorsed the positions that I have been advocating — that we need less government and more individual freedom."

But Mr. Clinton can take some solace in knowing that no Republican has yet caught fire with the party faithful. Somehow, Republicans will have to settle on a candidate with broad enough appeal to satisfy the party's diverse factions.

Should the standard-bearer be a hard-line conservative like Mr. Gramm? A popular figure with religious conservatives like former Vice President Dan Quayle?

Or perhaps a more moderate contender like Mr. Specter, who favors abortion rights?

Republicans may have a harder time in 1996 than in 1994 because Republicans in Congress will now be expected to perform and produce.

The 1996 campaign could be the last chance for a generation of the best-known Republican faces who were shut out during the Reagan-Bush monopoly on the White House, including Mr. Dole, Mr. Gramm and Jack F. Kemp, a former congressman from upstate New York who was housing secretary in the Bush administration.

Another familiar contender is Mr. Quayle, but he is young enough to have a shot in the years ahead. Some of his advisers have suggested that he wait.

Homosexuals See Some Gains in Elections

By David W. Dunlap
New York Times Service

DALLAS — Although they lost several major allies and face a far more conservative and hostile Congress, homosexual political leaders said last week's election was not a repudiation by voters of the gay rights movement.

"People are in mourning, as they well should be," said Sheila Kuehl, speaking at a conference in Dallas sponsored by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. "Yet, we defeated two anti-gay initiatives, and 24 lesbian or gay officials were re-elected or newly elected."

Mrs. Kuehl became the first openly homosexual candidate elected to the California legislature, winning in a state assembly district that includes Santa Monica.

The initiatives she referred to, in Oregon and Idaho, would have prohibited laws protecting homosexuals, as a class, from discrimination in housing and employment.

The measures would also have restricted minors' access to materials about homosexuality in public libraries and would have forbidden public school teachers from presenting homosexuality as normal.

"Basic rights have been defended in Oregon," said Julie Davis, campaign manager for the No on 13 Committee, named for the defeated initiative, Measure 13.

Oregon voters also re-elected four openly homosexual or bisexual members of the 60-seat House of Representatives. A fifth gay candidate was in a race that was still too close to call.

Voters in Phoenix sent an openly gay man, Ken Cheuvront, to the Arizona House of Representatives for the first time. Two of five seats open on San Francisco's Board of Su-

pervisors were won by lesbians and another by a gay man. Three gay U.S. Representatives — Barney Frank and Gerry E. Studds of Massachusetts and Steven Gunderson of Wisconsin — were re-elected.

While homosexual candidates made strides in local races around the nation, however, two statewide candidates lost: Karen S. Burstein, who ran for attorney general in New York, and Tony Miller, who ran for secretary of state in California.

When some 1,000 gay and lesbian organizers from around the country began arriving on Wednesday for the five-day strategy session convened by the task force, they did so knowing that political allies like Governor Ann Richards of Texas had been defeated.

"People were not only frustrated but fearful, saying things like, 'This is looking like a scariest place to live,'" said Deborah Johnson-Rolon, co-chairwoman of the task force, which advocates equality and civil rights for homosexuals.

She said the mood changed as word spread that two dozen gay officials had been elected and that Measure 13 in Oregon and a similar measure, Proposition 1 in Idaho, had been rejected, although a similar initiative passed in Alachua County, Florida.

"We realized that we really were making a significant amount of progress," Ms. Johnson-Rolon said.



TROPICAL STORM HITS HAITI — A vehicle being washed away watched by residents of Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The storm killed at least 100 Haitians and left thousands homeless. It also hit the eastern coast of Florida.

POLITICAL NOTES

A Tightening of the Loopholes

WASHINGTON — In addition to denying the Clinton administration the power to set a legislative agenda for the 104th Congress, it is now becoming clear that the Nov. 8 elections will make it more difficult for the White House to assert its social and political priorities by issuing new regulations.

Before the election, the administration had hoped to accomplish through regulation some of the things that the 103d Congress had refused to do through legislation, like tightening environmental restrictions on mining.

But with Republicans having captured both houses of Congress, the administration now finds that strategy undermined by the shift in political power.

Every law Congress passes is put into effect through regulations issued by federal agencies, most of them controlled by President Bill Clinton's appointees. That gives the administration extensive influence over everything from the kinds of automobile Detroit produces to which pesticides farmers use.

But because of the checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches, senior administration officials have begun to recognize that Tuesday's election results have considerably weakened their ability to govern by administrative actions.

It may prove harder for Mr. Clinton to play the regulatory part against a Congress in a distinctly deregulatory mood. (NYT)

subsidies, restricting abortions, removing the ban on assault guns — all these and more will face formidable obstacles when the new Congress convenes in January, the Republican leaders said. (LAT)

In New York, an About-Face

ALBANY, New York — Governor-elect George Pataki will begin a sweeping overhaul of state government this week, seeking to impose his Republican vision on a sprawling bureaucracy guided by Democratic policies and partisans for the last 20 years.

The effort will start with the appointment of commissioners and directors to run some 40 state agencies. The first is expected to be the naming of a budget director, who will be faced with a shortfall of as much as \$4 billion in the next fiscal year.

But the process will eventually entail hiring hundreds of deputies and assistants entrusted with prosaic duties such as issuing drivers' licenses.

By all accounts, the retooling will be extensive. The governor-elect has direct power to replace anywhere from 2,500 to more than 5,000 state officials, and advisers to Mr. Pataki have suggested that they are prepared to make wholesale changes to insure that their control over a bureaucracy largely installed by Democrats is complete.

"The philosophies are at such different ends of the spectrum," said John Sweeney, executive director of the state Republican Party. "That I can't imagine there would be many people that will stick around."

Mr. Pataki, 49, faces difficulties above and beyond the normal hurdles confronting any new governor. Republicans have not controlled the executive branch since Malcolm Wilson was governor in 1974, which leaves him no ready pool of professionals schooled in Republican ways of governing. (NYT)

Quote/Unquote

Peter Hart, a Democratic pollster, arguing that the message of the midterm elections was that people want things done differently in Washington: "A lot had to do with taxes and spending. A lot had to do with the way Congress operates, and in the end voters didn't want a new deal, they wanted a new deck. That's what they got." (WP)

Philip Morris in March. Philip Morris contends it was libeled by several ABC News programs that said the tobacco industry regularly laced cigarettes with extra nicotine.

Seeking to enter the garrulous libel suit as friends of the court, the news organizations said the tobacco company's effort to examine reporters' travel and telephone records would violate the First Amendment.

They also said it would so discourage whistle-blowers that it "could have far-reaching repercussions affecting the ability of the media to gather news for dissemination to the public."

The suit is raising new questions about whether journalists will be able to keep their secrets or gather new ones in an electronic world where their every move can be traced.

The news organizations were siding with the ABC television network, which was sued by

Philip Morris in March. Philip Morris contends it was libeled by several ABC News programs that said the tobacco industry regularly laced cigarettes with extra nicotine.

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One of Philip Morris' goals, the first few months of the case revealed, was to discover the identity of a former manager of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, a Philip Morris rival, who was shown in silhouette on ABC's "Day One" news magazine program.

The silhouetted speaker, who was only one of the network's sources, said that tobacco companies added nicotine "to keep the consumer happy."

As is typical in high-stakes libel cases, Philip Morris' lawyers have said they plan to try to force the ABC journalists, including John Martin, the correspondent, and Walt Bogdanich, the producer, to name their confidential source.

But this fall, in what lawyers said was an unprecedented move, Philip Morris also issued 13 subpoenas aimed at tracing the moves of the journalists while they were researching the tobacco broadcasts. The subpoenas were issued to companies including American Express, Hertz, AT&T and the Adam's Mark Hotel in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Last week, lawyers for ABC filed a legal brief seeking to have the court quash the subpoenas. The ABC lawyers noted that most federal and state courts, including the courts in Virginia, have recognized that reporters have a "qualified privilege" to protect their confidential sources except in rare circumstances.

I don't know whether this is a shake-down or whether it is a case of a father who is plagued by a mixture of understandable grief and perhaps guilt," Mr. Stiles said.

While there is disagreement over whether the law firm should be held responsible for the suicide, many of those interviewed for this article thought that his complaints of overwork, feelings of being trapped and isolated, and his growing exhaustion at least symbolize a broader problem. Others pointed out that many lawyers thrive in this high-stress environment.

The ABC lawyers argued that permitting the subpoenas for the journalists' financial records would amount to an "end run" around constitutional principles.

Away From Politics

- Six astronauts landed the space shuttle Atlantis in California after a tropical storm chased them from their intended runway in Florida.

- A carjacker with a submachine gun in San Francisco was shot and killed by the police after firing more than 100 rounds into buildings and evening traffic.

- A suicidal young man who jumped from the roof of his 17-story building in New York survived because he hit two trees

branches before landing on a car, the police said.

• A 17-year-old charged with shooting an English tourist to death during a botched robbery last year in Florida, will be the first of two teenagers to go on trial in the slaying. The victim was the ninth foreign visitor killed in Florida in a year.

• Tests on concrete mixes used for runways at Denver's new airport were manipulated to make the concrete appear stronger than it was, The Denver Post reported.

• Leonard Jeffries was dealt a setback in his fight to remain chairman of the black studies department of City College of New York when the Supreme Court told a federal appeals court to reconsider its ruling that CCNY had violated Mr. Jeffries' right to free speech when it removed him as chairman in 1991.

Mr. Jeffries had accused Jews of financing the slave trade, said Jews and the Mafia conspired to belittle blacks in movies, and made anti-Semitic comments about colleagues. AP, Reuters

Smoking Out Press Secrets

A Tobacco Firm Sues to Inspect Reporters' Travel Records

By William Glaberson
New York Times Service

NEXT YORK — Journalists sometimes promise to keep the identities of their sources secret. Occasionally, a reporter even goes to jail to keep a pledge of confidentiality.

But what would happen to those solemn promises of secrecy if reporters' credit-card, airline and rental car bills — even private telephone records — could be opened for inspection?

In legal papers filed in a Virginia court last week, many of the country's biggest news organizations argued against an effort by the Philip Morris Co. to open up reporters' travel and telephone records in search of their sources.

The news organizations were siding with the ABC television network, which was sued by

Philip Morris in March. Philip Morris contends it was libeled by several ABC News programs that said the tobacco industry regularly laced cigarettes with extra nicotine.

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Clinton Seeks Unity On Nuclear Accord With North Korea

By Elaine Sciolino
New York Times Service

JAKARTA — In broad-ranging meetings with Asian and Pacific leaders, President Bill Clinton sought to bolster support Monday for Washington's nuclear accord with North Korea and train the spotlight on America's more prominent Asia-Pacific role.

But senior U.S. officials acknowledged that the United States faced extraordinarily complicated negotiations in the coming months with Japan, South Korea and other participants in carrying out the accord over the next decade. Even Mr. Clinton said that its implementation would be difficult.

Residing from last week's election that ushered in a Republican-dominated Congress for the first time in four decades, Mr. Clinton enjoyed the adulation on Monday that accompanied any occasion when heads of state come together.

He used the occasion of his meetings with the leaders of China, South Korea, Japan and Australia, preceding the opening of the summit conference of the 18-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum to try to regain his political footing.

In Manila on Sunday and again in Jakarta on Monday, Mr. Clinton told his counterparts that he alone was in charge of American foreign policy and that the global impact of the elections was, if not minimal, at least manageable.

After last week's election, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher talked about the harmony that pervades U.S. foreign policy. But the administration has since refined that position, and Mr. Clinton and his aides have taken to giving a basic civics lesson in the consti-

tutional powers of the president to make and execute foreign policy.

Mr. Clinton joked about how the tables had turned from last summer's summit meeting in Naples of the world's leading industrialized nations. At that time, Prime Minister Tomiochi Murayama of Japan had emerged as the head of a new coalition government only days before, and had sought to reassure Mr. Clinton about continuity in Japan's foreign policy; this year, Mr. Clinton said, it was the other way around.

Many of the meetings on Monday focused on the administration's plans for carrying out the nuclear accord that requires North Korea to freeze and ultimately dismantle its nuclear program in exchange for \$4 billion in economic incentives. Japan and South Korea have agreed in principle to pay for most of the program.

Both Japanese and South Korean officials said that their governments were not ready to make a firm financial commitment, and because of the sensitivity of the issue, money was not discussed on Monday, a senior U.S. official said.

Early Monday, President Jiang Zemin of China told Mr. Clinton that China "welcomed strongly" the American agreement to halt North Korea's nascent nuclear weapons program.

In Lisbon, Prime Minister António Cavaco Silva said his government was willing to offer asylum to the 29 East Timorese, but he also pressed Mr. Clinton to take a tougher line on the East Timor issue with Jakarta.

At a news conference, Mr. Clinton offered a spirited defense of his human-rights record.

"The United States, perhaps more than any other country in



An Indonesian security officer trying to block a camera at the APEC summit center in Jakarta as two American journalists, Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, sought to organize a press conference about civil rights demonstrations in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

TIMOR: Embassy Sit-In Forces Human-Rights Issue

Continued from Page 1
had "no problem" with the occupation, and that he felt "comfortable" with an Indonesian assurance that no retribution would be exercised.

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"The United States, perhaps more than any other country in

the world, consistently and regularly raises human rights issues," he said.

Of his meeting Monday morning with President Jiang Zemin of China, he said, "We made it absolutely clear that in order for the U.S. relationship with China to fully flower, there had to be progress on all fronts."

Despite such rhetoric, the fact is that Mr. Clinton decided last spring not to allow questions of individual liberty or press freedom to block improved economic ties with such important nations as Indonesia and China. Rather than trying to force U.S. political views on other nations by threatening to close the American market to them, the administration has adopted the view that the best way to promote democracy is to enhance their ability to trade and grow.

"Growth makes people better off, and that in turn means they begin independently seeking democratic rights," said W. Bowman Cutter, a top Clinton economic aide, adding that "it is still absolutely the intention of the United States to raise

China maintains that it is a developing country and allowances should be made. There has been persistent speculation in recent days that Beijing has been trying to link its reservations over the APEC trade liberalization program to a softening of the U.S. position on China's reentry into GATT.

But a spokesman for Mr. Jiang said Monday that China supported the APEC objective of achieving trade liberalization by 2020, provided the timetable was staggered to take account of different levels of development.

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There are problems with discipline, while the loss of weapons and materiel continues," the agency quoted Mr. Yeltsin as saying. "Some generals and officers work poorly with the troops."

Mr. Yeltsin also criticized failures to care properly for the troops, some of whom lack decent housing. He urged the prime minister, Viktor S. Chernomyrdin, who also attended, to ensure sufficient funding for the army, which has complained that its appropriation, though more than 20 percent of total spending, is too small.

The armed forces cannot solve their financial problems themselves and they should not be pushed onto the path of commerce," Mr. Yeltsin said.

He said the armed forces would be reduced by 385,000 men in 1994 and would number 1,917,400 men by Jan. 1, with an ultimate goal of some 1.5 million. Western officials be-

lieve the number already may be as low as 1.4 million.

His address was the only part of the conclave, scheduled to last two days, that was open to the Russian press.

Mr. Yeltsin also used his speech to describe his concerns for the future, saying that Russian forces needed a higher state of combat readiness to deal with spreading ethnic and religious conflicts in the developing world.

"All this is fraught with a potential expansion of existing military conflicts," he said, "and the emergence of new ones in which Russia will be involved because of its geopolitical and geostrategic interests."

The Russian government complained officially on Saturday that "for various reasons, including domestic ones, the United States appears increasingly inconsistent in pushing through unilateral decisions that are not in the framework of agreed collective action."

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Gulf Disease Syndrome Spreads Genetic Mystery Persists as Birth Defects Rise

By Richard A. Serrano
Los Angeles Times Service

FAYETTEVILLE, North Carolina — Ten babies have died here already. The children of Gulf War veterans they died of heart defects and liver cancer. One was born with no spleen. Three were born dead.

Their short lives — chronicled neatly by their mothers in family photo albums — are raising new fears that the mysterious Gulf War Disease syndrome, an unexplainable, untreatable affliction that reportedly has touched thousands of those who fought in the desert, is now being passed on to the next generation.

Here at Fort Bragg, home to the 82d Airborne Division, Gulf veterans' wives learned almost by accident — in casual conversations — that they were not the only ones mysteriously losing children.

The Fort Bragg experience is being repeated elsewhere. With some groups believing that as many as 65 percent of the children born to Gulf War soldiers are afflicted in some form or another, veterans and their spouses are confused and angry. Many are refusing to have more children.

Dr. Ellen Silbergeld, a molecular toxicologist at the University of Maryland, told a congressional hearing in August that scientists now know that men exposed to toxic chemicals can pass the poison directly to their children through semen. What is frightening, she said, is that the chemicals can cause genetic mutations to the sperm that helps conceive the child.

Exactly why this occurs, she added, is the "question we know the least about."

Dr. Francis J. Waickman, an Akron, Ohio, environmental pediatrician, compared birth-defect statistics between Gulf War babies and other children. He found a 30 percent rate of abnormalities among the children of Gulf veterans — "probably tenfold of what is in the normal population," he said. But as experts delve further into the issue, he said, more questions pop up.

"Can it be passed on? The answer is yes, insofar as we have hard evidence that chemicals can absolutely decrease numbers of sperm," Dr. Waickman said. "It can create an infant whose immune system does not function normally, and as a consequence this can be a cause.

for the increased incidence of infections in these children. But does this alter genes? And can this occur when you have severe chemical exposure?"

"To my knowledge," he said, "this is the first time we've ever had such a large group exposed to a possible large degree of chemicals, so we better learn from this whole series of events."

Betty Mekdeci, founder and director of the Association of Birth Defect Children in Orlando, Florida, is also studying the illness and deaths. Her group is circulating 10,000 questionnaires to Gulf War families, all information that will be dissected to look for trends and patterns. What she hopes to determine is whether the ailments and fatalities are linked to the war, or simply mirror society.

Defense Department officials say that while they sympathize deeply, they have yet to pinpoint a cause. They maintain that unless research shows otherwise, U.S. soldiers were not exposed to life-threatening chemicals or other toxic agents.

Lieutenant Colonel Doug Hart, a Pentagon spokesman on health and personnel matters, says some studies suggest that infant deaths and birth abnormalities are in line with expected percentages in the general population.

Don't tell that to the mothers of Waynesboro, Mississippi, site of a National Guard quartermaster corps. There, 13 of the 15 children born to returning Gulf War veterans suffer from serious birth defects.

Infant-mortality rates have suddenly increased among Gulf veterans in the area of Kentucky and Tennessee where the 101st Airborne Division is based, the area of Georgia where the 197th Infantry Division is based, and at Fort Hood, Texas.

Colonel Hart said the Pentagon is continuing to gather and examine statistics from Gulf War veterans and is comparing them with soldiers who did not go to the Gulf.

He noted that a study by the Mississippi State Department of Health, which analyzed the incidents of birth defects in Waynesboro, came up with initial findings that indicated a normal rate of birth defects for the group there.

Yet the phenomenon persists.

About a year after the war ended in early 1991, veterans

Saddam the Spender: A Palatial \$1 Billion

By Michael R. Gordon
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. officials trying to maintain support for economic sanctions against Iraq have disclosed that since the end of the Gulf War, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq has spent what may be as much as \$1 billion on palaces and presidential retreats around the country.

At a time when many Iraqis are destitute, Iraq has not only repaired the damage allied bombings did to government palaces during the 1991 war, but is also expanding them and building new ones, according to American intelligence reports.

Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, plans to raise the issue of the conspicuous spending on Iraq's palaces as part of the campaign to maintain economic sanctions on Iraq, an issue that has divided the allies. The information was released just before the embargo is to come before the Security Council again.

Though Iraq has also done much to restore its electrical grid, public services and roads and bridges damaged in the war, the work on the residences for the elite underscores the contrast between rich and poor in Iraq, a nation of 20 million people where robberies are on the rise and even middle-class Iraqis are selling their furniture to make ends meet.

U.S. officials say the work will triple the number of residences for the government elite, which include a presidential palace at Lake Tharthar that is more than four times larger than the White House.

American officials contend that Iraq has failed to meet all UN demands for lifting economic sanctions that were imposed after the war. Now, pointing to the palaces, the officials say Iraq is crying poverty even as leaders squander money on themselves.

"The fact that Saddam Hussein is spending hundreds of millions to build palaces and refusing to use the humanitarian program the United Nations has authorized shows the hypocrisy of his claims that he is concerned about his people's suffering," a U.S. official said.

The CIA estimated the cost at \$1 billion, though one American expert said that is, at best, a crude guess.

The Security Council has au-

thorized Iraq to sell up to \$1.6 billion of oil under UN supervision, with much of the proceeds going for food and medicine. But Iraq has refused, saying the resolution is an infringement on its sovereignty.

Critics of the sanctions policy also cite the opulent lifestyle of Iraq's rulers. They say that the palace construction shows that top Iraqi officials are firmly entrenched and have managed to insulate themselves from the effects of the embargo, leaving ordinary Iraqis to suffer.

In an effort to lift the sanctions, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz of Iraq is to meet with Mrs. Albright, who is Security Council president this month. He is expected to present a declaration of Iraq's formal recognition of Kuwait.

France and Russia, which support Iraq's position, want the Security Council to lift the embargo in six months. Iraq owes the Russians billions, which they hope to recoup from Iraq's oil revenues, while France also sees the possibility of lucrative deals with Iraq.

But the United States and Britain have firmly opposed lifting sanctions, arguing that Iraq has not completely dismantled its programs to develop weapons of mass destruction and has refused to renounce terrorism or refrain from repression at home.

Western officials also insist that Iraq has kept property stolen from Kuwait during its occupation. Mrs. Albright plans to tell the Security Council that the UN has seen Kuwaiti vehicles and scientific equipment in Iraq, according to James P. Rubin, spokesman for the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

In addition, U.S. officials note that the Iraqi forces that invaded Kuwait last month were equipped with captured Kuwaiti equipment, including more than 200 Soviet-made armored personnel carriers and a battalion worth of American-made M-109 artillery pieces.

As described by American officials, the presidential complex at Tikrit contains at least 13 palaces and a lake that was created by diverting water from the Tigris.

U.S. officials said that two new wings with elaborate archways have been added to another residence, identified as Iraq's Republican Palace. At the new presidential palace, the space has been more than doubled.



LIKE MOTHER, LIKE DAUGHTER — Sirimavo Bandaranaike, left, Sri Lanka's new prime minister, at her swearing-in Monday. She is accompanied by her daughter, President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga. Mrs. Bandaranaike, 78, first became prime minister of Sri Lanka in 1960, succeeding her assassinated husband.

Gaza Officials See Lengthy Crackdown

Reuters

GAZA — The Palestinian Authority's crackdown on Islamic Jihad militants in Gaza, launched after a suicide bombing that killed three Israeli officers, is likely to be long-term, officials from both groups said Monday.

"I am sure this time is completely different from what has happened in the past," Freih Abu Medien, who is in charge of justice for the self-rule administration, told Israel Army Radio.

The authority has rounded up activists from the militant Hamas group several times in response to Israeli pressure since Gaza came under self-rule in May. They were released within days.

But Mr. Abu Medien said the smaller Islamic Jihad had "crossed a red line" when its members jostled the Palestine Liberation Organization chairman, Yasser Arafat, out of the funeral 10 days ago of a Jihad activist who had been killed in a bombing for which all Palestinian factions blamed Israel.

Both Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists burning flags "Iranian-style" in the streets of Gaza last week had angered Palestinian leaders.

"It appears Islamic Jihad is posing a challenge to law and order," Mr. Yousef said.

One Jihad supporter attributed the current crackdown more to Mr. Arafat's attitude than to Israeli pressure on him.

"It is Arafat himself who wants to break us," he said.

23-Year Coma Victim Dies

The Associated Press

TOKYO — Yasuo Sato, a car crash victim who had been in a coma for 23 years, has died of heart failure at 45, officials in northern Japan said.

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International Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Tale of Two Embargoes

When must the United States go with others on a foreign policy issue, and when must it insist on its own policy? The Clinton administration has offered an ostensibly helpful formula to sort out America's interest — multilateral when it can, unilateral when it must. But these words do not so much guide as evade decision. Take the current case of the two embargoes.

In Bosnia, U.S. advocates, centered in but not confined to the new Republican victors in Congress, have pushed to arm the Muslim-led government. In fact, if not so much in word, the administration has responded discreetly; it is sympathetic to Bosnia but fearful of expanding and Americanizing a war on which no one has a political handle. But now the administration has gone out on thin ice. It does not (yet) break the United Nations arms embargo on the Bosnians, but it will no longer assist others in enforcing it. Whether this position is a firebreak or a bridge to a unilateral lifting hinges on events to come. Meanwhile, the step severely strains the cohesion that America, Russia, France, Britain and Germany need to provide an alternative to unchecked war.

It also riddles the American effort to enlist allied support for another embargo that the United States unambiguously supports. We refer to Iraq. Russia has finally persuaded Saddam Hussein to recognize Kuwait. Since Iraq had already moved to satisfy UN terms on disarmament, Russia, France and others now seek to lift the international sanctions on the regime. This is wrong.

First, other UN conditions remain to be met: on releasing Kuwaiti prisoners, political and military equipment, and on halting repression of Iraqi Kurds and Shiites. Then, although America's friends might try to resume commerce with Baghdad, the resident dictator remains a regional menace. By forming and leading the coalition that undid his assault on Gulf oil, the United States earned a fair claim for allied respect of its judgment on Gulf security. By flouting the allied appeal to uphold the Bosnia embargo, it undermines its Iraq claim.

On a political and humanitarian issue like Bosnia, where its role is secondary, the United States needs to listen carefully to its allies, who are up close and taking the risks on the ground. On a strategic issue like the Gulf, where its role is primary (as its response to Iraq's recent intimidation maneuver underscored), Washington should expect a certain deference from its allies. Bill Clinton would do well to make the distinction clear. It would help him escape the embarrassment of asking friendly governments to support one embargo while he spurns their request to support another.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Price of the 'Contract'

Republicans have pledged to vote within 100 days of taking control of the House on a "Contract With America," a package of 10 bills that offers government reforms, tax cuts and deficit reduction. Newt Gingrich, the likely next speaker, has vowed to honor the pledge promptly.

Voting on the contract will be easy. Paying for the package will not. The social and economic costs could be staggering. Mr. Gingrich could find himself undermining the Republican governors who now run every large state except Florida. His contract threatens programs that big-state governors need for large pockets of disadvantaged residents.

The contract includes proposals to fight crime, reform welfare, restrict child pornography, reform product-liability laws, impose term limits on Congress and give the president veto power over individual items in spending bills. The chief budget-busters are proposed tax cuts that would greatly reduce federal revenues and a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget.

Tax cuts on capital gains, families with children, corporate investment, retirement savings and Social Security benefits would cost, according to Republican estimates, about \$40 billion a year for the first five years. Thereafter, because of tricky provisions, the costs would soar, probably doubling to \$80 billion a year.

The biggest hit would come from eliminating the deficit, which would require Congress to cut \$140 billion from the budget. The contract would knock about \$200 billion a year out of a \$1.5 trillion budget. This will be hard. The Republicans must pay interest on the federal debt (\$200 billion) and will not cut Social Security (\$350 billion), defense (\$280 billion), pensions (\$70 billion) or most of Medicare (\$200 billion). That leaves at most about \$450 billion in other programs from which to find the \$140 billion cut.

To put matters in perspective, Congress has yet to summon the courage to cut \$3 billion a year to pay for the international trade accord. Representative John Kasich of Ohio, in line to lead the House Budget Committee, is one of the few to present an honest list of specific cuts. But even his list, which would take on every vested interest in Congress, amounts to about \$35 billion a year — only a fourth of the distance to the goal line set by the contract.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Choice Is Rangoon's

Burma's State Law and Order Restoration Council is one of the world's most brutal, least legitimate regimes. It seized power by massacring democracy demonstrators in the streets of Rangoon six years ago. Since then it has ignored elections, cooperated with drug lords and waged a relentless war against democratic political leaders, university students, Buddhist religious activists and the ethnic minorities who make up more than a third of Burma's population. This grim dictatorship is now being courted by countries eager for new economic opportunities in the world's hottest boom region. These include many of Burma's Southeast Asian neighbors and much of the European Union.

Progress on these points could lead to warmer relations, eased sanctions and renewed cooperation against drugs. No progress would lead Washington to broaden U.S. sanctions and push for an international arms embargo. Some of Mr. Hubbard's points resemble the human rights conditions that the United States earlier tried to apply to China, then dropped. This time the administration appears more united and serious. That leaves the next step up to the State Law and Order Restoration Council.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Herald Tribune
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U.K. Advertising Office: 63 Long Acre, London WC2. Tel: (071) 836-4812. Fax: (071) 340-2234
S.A. and Capital de 1,200,000 F. RCS Nanterre B 732021126. Commission Particulière No. 61337
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Bosnia Burns While NATO Soloists Fiddle Fantasias

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Bosnia burns, while NATO plays a sweet but unrealistic song of expansion and new unity on its fiddle.

The war in the Balkans is again lurching toward violent escalation. But the European and American governments allied in NATO seem powerless to halt today's tragedy. Instead the politicians, diplomats and generals who head the world's most powerful military bureaucracy talk and posture about events far over the horizon.

Their talk is about the future of NATO and how it will take in new members, expanding to provide the best of all

The cost of renewed failure in Bosnia would be devastating.

tunes for Eastern Europe, Ukraine and even Russia. Designing utopia in time for high-level diplomatic conferences in December is the priority task in NATO's foreign affairs ministries.

Urgent action by NATO to stop Europe's bloodiest and cruellest conflict since World War II is blocked by political differences within the organization. And the Clinton administration's symbolic decision to stop enforcing the arms embargo against Bosnia will significantly

aggravate those differences and create new strains in the alliance.

The Nov. 11 announcement of a unilateral U.S. withdrawal from an already leaky embargo will add no protection to the Bosnian Muslim government in Sarajevo as that regime faces the final offensive proclaimed the same day by the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

To be fair, Bill Clinton's embargo action is not designed to change the battlefield situation. It is part of a complex campaign of pressure and incentives that Washington is applying to the Serbs in Bosnia and Belgrade — and to America's NATO partners and Russia as well — to get a negotiated settlement to the war. If the campaign works, the administration will score a major diplomatic triumph.

Hope that it works. The cost of renewed failure in Bosnia now would be devastating in human and political terms.

The visible gain is growing between the alliance's rhetoric about unity and purpose and its ability to act in a real crisis outside its original purpose of territorial self-defense. That disparity undermines public confidence in NATO as it renewes talk of taking in new members by expanding eastward to include former Soviet satellite nations.

I can recall no time when the gap between talk and the ability to act was greater in NATO affairs, or when public perceptions were more at variance with the ideas on the minds of NATO's key figures. The alliance's leadership is deeply involved in behind-closed-doors discussions about NATO's future that would shock their countries' citizens if they were tape-recorded and played on air.

The discussions center on questions such as these: Is it enough to extend NATO's guarantee (and thus America's nuclear umbrella) to the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary by making them NATO members? Or must the guarantee and umbrella also cover Ukraine? And Lithuania and its Baltic neighbors, Estonia and Latvia? Would pushing the front line of NATO defense to the eastern frontier of Poland and stopping there send a signal that the Baltic countries are outside NATO's defensive perimeter and that Russian reform is lost?

This debate proceeds at a time when every NATO government is cutting back on defense spending, reducing the size of its armed forces and emphasizing economic and physical security for its citizens at home. The sense of spreading schizophrenia in policy is amplified by the public support that these same governments extend to Russia, the presumed threat to Eastern Europe.

Washington and its allies assure the world publicly that Boris Yeltsin's government and democracy are more entrenched every day, while making plans that have coherence only if they suspect that Russian democracy will soon collapse.

The new NATO debate about membership is being driven in part by the artificial need of NATO members to come up with a work program for the North Atlantic Council meeting of foreign and defense ministers in mid-December. The NATO debate is also central to the December summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Budapest, which President Clinton may attend.

But serious discussion of extending full NATO nuclear protection to former Soviet satellites, especially to nations on the Russian doorstep, is still premature. The new Republican majorities in the House and Senate should think twice before whooping through tough-sounding language about expanding NATO to face down the Russian bear, as Jesse Helms may be tempted to do.

That would require a lot of money, and a lot of public support for new military forces in Europe. The smoke rising from Bosnia shows how little stomach there is among allied governments to provide either commodity now.

The Washington Post.

An Asia-Pacific Trading Bloc Could Be Good for Outsiders as Well

By Carlos Salinas de Gortari

The writer is president of Mexico.

JAKARTA — The leaders of the Asia-Pacific region — including Mexico, the United States and Canada, which have joined in NAFTA — are meeting in Indonesia to discuss the strengthening of Asia-Pacific regional trade links.

The concept of regional trading blocs provokes serious doubt in some parts of the world, and this is understandable. Countries that are not part of a given customs union or free trade zone

that is, if they do not create or increase trade barriers to third parties — then they will have a positive effect on world trade.

In addition to eliminating obstacles to trade among their members, regional blocs encourage trade creation, rather than divert, trade.

Moreover, by promoting liberalization among member states, regional blocs encourage liberalization with the rest of the world.

Regional trade blocs can thus have a significant impact upon the development of the international trading system. If such blocs are closed, their impact will be negative. However, if regional trade zones are properly

managed, and are expansive in nature, then they can be the building blocks of a more open and free world trade system.

The trends are promising. With some exceptions, free trade zones have demonstrated a clear tendency toward expansion.

The European Union is considering the possibility of agreements with countries in Northern Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Latin America.

In the Western Hemisphere, the North American Free Trade Agreement, Mercosur (comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) and the Group of Three (Mexico, Venezuela and

Colombia) are forming a free trade mosaic that should converge to create continentwide free trade.

Likewise, through the framework of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, the Asia-Pacific basin becomes efficiently integrated.

The risk always exists, of course, that one or several of these groups will be tempted to resort to protectionist measures.

It is thus important that the multilateral trading system be strong enough to prevent that. In this regard, the creation of the World Trade Organization represents a significant step forward.

In addition to managing an increasing number of members, the World Trade Organization will have to address inter-region

al relationships. It will have to follow closely the processes of liberalization in each region, and identify ideas and methods that might be applicable at the multilateral level — or, when necessary, detect and prevent developments that could jeopardize the coexistence and convergence of trading principles.

All the APEC members gathered in Indonesia are fully committed to ratifying the Uruguay Round trade agreements in time for the World Trade Organization to take force on Jan. 1. I am thus confident that the results of the APEC summit will benefit the multilateral trading system and the world as a whole, constituting a building block, to free trade.

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The Mandate Has Moved Into Gingrich's Conservative House

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Bill Clinton remains president for foreign affairs, but the center of power in domestic affairs, both in voting strength and intellectual energy, has shifted from the White House to the putative speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich.

America's first elected half-term president has only himself, his wife and their political advisers to blame for this unprecedented power division.

When Mr. Gingrich sought to nationalize local elections by submitting a platform of clear, conservative promises, Mr. Clinton foolishly agreed to escalate the midterm elections into a stark choice between Reaganism and Clintonism.

He publicized Mr. Gingrich's "Contract With America," warred happily against it on the campaign trail, nuked it by misleading the elderly into fearing for their Social Security, and laid his leadership on the line. As a result, as the Chinese say, he lost the Mandate of Heaven.

Keeper of the voters' mandate is now Mr. Gingrich. Since the election, the future-shocking history teacher from Georgia has been forthright, at times eloquent, in articulating his policy goals to a much wider audience. Counterproductively, he added a few ungracious and dated shots at the "counterculture" and media elite, which gave losers not still shell-shocked their chance to demonize him.

But consider why some of us think of him as Newt the Beast.

Not so long ago, the 435 House members were served by a staff of 3,000; today, aides and hangers-on have ballooned to 20,000, and are an integral part of the government-intrusion problem (the Congress makes regulations for idle hands). Mr. Gingrich has pledged to cut staff by one-third, and as speaker he will have the power to deliver; that example should induce the Senate to do the same.

He will also deliver in the House on term limits and a balanced-budget amendment, too, along with the line-item veto that will give the president greater power to break up costly legislative package deals. We shall see how many Democrats join Senator Robert Byrd, prince of pork, to thwart the will of the people.

That element of Newt's First 100 Days will be aimed at restraining and disciplining the way Washington does political business. What about the way the federal government then helps the average family cope with modern social and economic life? The trick, according to Newtonomics, is to let people keep more of what they earn to spend the way they want. But that's selfish, say liberals; what about compassion for the poor?

That takes us past the easy stuff, like health-insurance reform and tax fixes to encourage marriage and parents' support of children to the hard part: welfare reform and — want a new long word? — disintellemtarianism.

The Clinton notion of welfare reform — a make-work requirement after a couple of years — is a far cry from what Mr. Gingrich and Senator Phil Gramm have in mind. They can show how welfare to the able-bodied has bred dependency, and they believe that the way to discourage unemployed single mothers from having more children is to make it unprofitable.

Does this mean allowing little kids to starve to provide a disincentive? That is where Newt starts muttering about orphanges, as if the nation is going to let

Oliver Twist in the wind. No; draconian threats may be needed to break the old patterns, but cooperation can find a way — none dare call it compromise — to quickly transform welfare to workfare.

Libertarian conservatives like the recoil at the intrusiveness of Newt's call for a "voluntary" school prayer amendment. He is being inconsistent on his bedrock principle of individual responsibility. If parents want to imbue their children with spiritual values — as more should — the parents should take the kids by the hand to Sunday School and not lob off that family duty on educators employed by local government.

But we don't have to agree with Newt down the line to admire the boldness of his futurism, the energy with which he mobilizes his forces and the job he takes in upsetting the apple cart of power in the nation's capital.

The transfer is only temporary, of course. One of these days, a president will offer a competing vision of public support for personal freedom. Could even be Bill Clinton. But for now, the Congress dispenses and the Congress dispenses.

The New York Times.

Tread Carefully in Linking Workers' Rights to Trade and Lending

By Bimal Ghosh

GENEVA — The United States is in a predicament over the link between workers' rights and trade.

Earlier this year Mickey Kantor, the chief U.S. trade negotiator, tried to place the issue on the agenda of the new World Trade Organization, successor to GATT, and won agreement to debate the issue. But political pressures forced the Clinton administration to drop workers' rights from its proposed fast-track negotiating authority for future trade negotiations.

It had already de-linked China's human rights performance from the annual U.S. renewal of most-favored-nation trade status. And after threatening Indonesia, on human rights grounds, with withdrawal of trade benefits, the administration chose to avoid a showdown in the run-up to Bill Clinton's visit to Indonesia for the meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. Meanwhile, Congress has passed a bill making observance of workers' rights a condition for lending by the World Bank and other multilateral financial institutions.

The ambivalence of the U.S. position is drawing fire at home. Abroad it is causing weariness among smaller nations, and contributing to uncertainties and tensions in the world trading system.

If workers' rights are to be linked to trade, there should be a clear understanding of the scope and limits of such action. Developing countries' low wages are often perceived as a sign of labor exploitation. (Nearly 100 years ago, the protectionist lobby in the United States raised a similar cry against "pauper labor of Europe.")

OPINION

Mideast Peace: An Envoy To Keep Up Momentum

By Flora Lewis

JERUSALEM — People are reeling under the emotional overload from alternating spasms of hope and anger provoked by recent events — massacre, murder, a peace treaty with Jordan, the Casablanca economic summit's vision of future prosperity.

So much has changed now that the "peace process" is truly engaged. But that shifts the focus to the hard and complex problems yet to be faced. There is a great deal more apprehension than euphoria among both Israelis and Palestinians as they look ahead, almost forgetting how far they have already come from habitual despair and intransigence.

Things have happened that were almost unimaginable a couple of years ago: Israeli representatives in Arab lands; Yasser Arafat installed in Gaza and looking to elections that will bring Palestinian autonomy and eventually, no doubt, the first Palestinian state. Even Syria's wily leader, Hafez Assad, has decided on peace, all involved have concluded, although he is still holding out and bargaining tough.

But people are not measuring achievements as they look at the uncertain way ahead. There is even some nostalgia for the psychologically easier times of absolute hostility, like some Westerners' nostalgia for the Cold War, when foe and friend were clearly labeled. Then the hardest questions did not have to be confronted, like the fate of Jewish settlements in territory to be ceded, the future of Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees. Those questions were insoluble and could be put aside. And yet the leaders cannot afford to take their time. Israel will have elections within two years. The central issue will be whether its security can better be rooted in peace, as Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin argues, or in sheer military strength extracting concessions, as the opposition insists. Mr. Arafat is weakened, undermined by hard-liners who say he has become a lackey of Israel.

If either one loses power, his replacement is likely to be a much more difficult interlocutor for the other, probably unwilling to continue the tenuous exercise. Neither one has the sage, flexible personality of South Africa's Nelson Mandela or Frederik de Klerk, able to consider the other's needs as a part of his own for a larger, mutual purpose.

A thoughtful Israeli journalist who has watched it all closely said: "Victory always has a price. There was victory in war in 1967, and it took us a long time to understand

the price. Peace is a victory, too, but will Israelis understand that it, too, has a price, and be prepared for it?"

An incident at Dabieh in late October shook Israeli deeply, although it was little noticed abroad. Hezbollah fighters stormed an Israeli outpost in southern Lebanon, and the Israeli soldiers failed to counterattack. Two officers face court martial, charged with misconduct under fire.

There was a videotape of the engagement, later broadcast on Israeli television. It seemed to show that the ardor, the readiness to sacrifice that Israelis expect from their fighting forces, and which they consider the key to their defense, is draining away, passing to the attackers.

An article in The Jerusalem Post bitterly critical of Mr. Rabin asked if the army's capacity to fight was being sapped. It said: "Who can blame [the soldiers] for showing lack of morale and motivation in defending a shrinking homeland?"

Hannah Ashrawi, the former PLO spokeswoman, refused to join the new Palestinian authority because of its defects in negotiating and her determination not to be "used" in Mr. Arafat's personal political manipulation. She says she will concentrate on trying to build institutions of civil society as the essential base for democratization.

Otherwise, she believes, the Palestinians' fate is the "Arab trap" of a "corrupt, incompetent, authoritarian regime" or Islamist extremism. Still, after a long list of criticisms of all concerned — the PLO, the Israeli government, the United States — she concludes that the peace process "is irreversible."

No doubt it is. A watershed has been passed, but the way ahead is no less difficult than the one behind.

The momentum needs constant reinforcement, and, as before, it will have to come from America. There is a need not just for occasional visits and beaming presidential ceremonies but constant high-level attention and discreet intervention.

President Bill Clinton, badly weakened now, cannot closet himself in Camp David to produce a solution, as President Jimmy Carter did. Even if he could, the time isn't ripe. He should appoint a special Middle East representative, a high-profile, widely respected negotiator, to concentrate day after day both on the obstacles that come up and on the goal. "Irreversible" isn't enough. The painful movement to peace has to be kept going.

© Flora Lewis



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Expecting a Gentle Scolding

I am certain that you will receive many letters condemning the British documentary producer who made "Hell's Angel: Mother Teresa" (*People*, Nov. 8). I am equally certain that you will hear nothing from her. She will simply read the headline, sigh, shake her head, and then laugh uproariously. That is the Mother Teresa I have worked with, known and loved for more than 14 years.

When I was in India for a U.S. corporation, I met her, worked every spare minute at a leper colony near Delhi, and grew quite close to her. I can claim neither fame nor power, but I am treated by her as she treats Her Britannic Majesty. Or, perhaps, Her Majesty is treated as I am by Mother. Therein lies the rub.

Queens, kings, presidents, dictators, popes, powerful people neither attract nor interest her. Naturally, she is kind to all. She does not judge. When she sits with a destitute dying patient in India so that he can depart this world with much more dignity than he ever enjoyed in life, she does not evangelize or preach. She attempts to comfort, not convert Hindus, Muslims, animists, Protestants, atheists, wayward Britons. The destitute dying is of so much greater rank than a head of state.

When she bathes an AIDS patient it is with love and tears for his suffering, not for his lifestyle.

She does not approve of fund-raising schemes and prohibits the collection of money in her name. For years, in response to my questions and concerns about funding,

she has said that God will provide. And He does, time and time again. She will not approve of this letter, and I can expect her scolding shortly. But even that she manages with love and compassion.

JAMES McEWEN DEWAR, Hanoi.

The Reviewer's Fallibility

Regarding "The Pope Cheapens His Office" (*Opinion*, Nov. 1) by Colman McCarthy:

This is a cheap, shoddy shot at Pope John Paul II. Mr. McCarthy is entitled to his opinion, but to dogmatize it in judgmental infallibility is downright ridiculous, if not dishonest. His loaded "truths" defile the Pope's words, never intended as literature but as moral and ethical guidelines for humankind's survival.

WILLIAM GREENWAY, Paris.

A Cloud Over India

Your coverage of the health crisis in India, following the outbreak of plague in Surat, was remarkable; better, in fact, than that of most Indian newspapers.

Most reporters have written about the garbage heaps in Indian cities, including New Delhi. But the fact is that the whole country has become a garbage dump. The air is highly polluted, transportation often does not exist, essential services like electricity, water and telephones are often nonexistent, civic authorities are unresponsive, the police are authoritarian, and many politicians are corrupt.

What a disgraceful state of affairs for this once-proud country.

AJIT S. GOPAL, New Delhi.

Defining the U.S. Interest

Jeane Kirkpatrick denies that there is a U.S. national interest in the Haiti venture ("What's This About Clinton Successors?" *Opinion*, Nov. 1). In my view, any contribution within the limits of U.S. power, expertise and dedication toward resolving any problem on this planet is in America's interest — just as forsaking such a contribution works to its detriment.

L. BODMER, Zollikon, Switzerland.

Images of Geneva

Regarding "Geneva: Controversy at Last" (*Features*, Nov. 5) by Alan Riding:

Describing the inauguration of Geneva's new Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, the article states that persuading the city "to spend money on the arts has never been easy."

Considering that Geneva has 28 museums, 136 art galleries, an opera, numerous theaters, 65 libraries, 40 cinemas and more — thanks to the more than 200 million Swiss francs (\$155 million) spent every year by the city's public authorities and a large additional effort by the private sector — it looks like what Geneva really needs is to work on the way outsiders perceive it.

STEVEN BERNARD, Geneva.

It was impossible to resist a peek at Bardejov.

The 250-kilometer (155-mile) trip from Budapest was unevenly good except that it took 24 hours, and we did not go by wagon. Budapest rental cars were all booked, through no fault of Michael Jackson's. That left a quaint Hungarian train, an efficient Slovak bus and a crummy night's sleep at a faded, former Communist Party hotel in Slovakia.

Finally, in Bardejov (population 32,000), the mystery about Grandfather's town was solved just before a tremendous thunderstorm. An employee at the history museum explained that the place used to be called Barfield. Turns out it was the old Hungarian name.

Excited, I toured the former synagogue where my grandfather very likely prayed as a boy, walked the narrow streets that he surely knew, and saw birth records that list my ancestors. Then I remembered Grandfather's motto.

I searched the town for honesty and found no liars or tricksters. The locals smiled warmly at an American called urgently with a surprise. The town could really be in Slovakia, he said, or maybe the Czech Republic.

"So you actually might be Slovakian?" said my Spanish girlfriend, who knew my "Hungarian story" by heart.

We packed our suitcases in Madrid and landed in Budapest hours later. A friendly reporter there lent maps of Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia, but then had to rush off to cover the arrival of some newlyweds named Michael Jackson and Lisa Marie Presley.

The video features unexpected celebrities: the former U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and Czech President Vaclav Havel. The statesmen were filmed in the town square while attending an international conference on security a few years ago.

The 25-minute video has a shocking flaw — my grandfather and his motto are not mentioned. After all these years, how could the town forget him? It was probably just an honest mistake.

The writer, who reports from Spain for CNN, contributed this essay to the International Herald Tribune.

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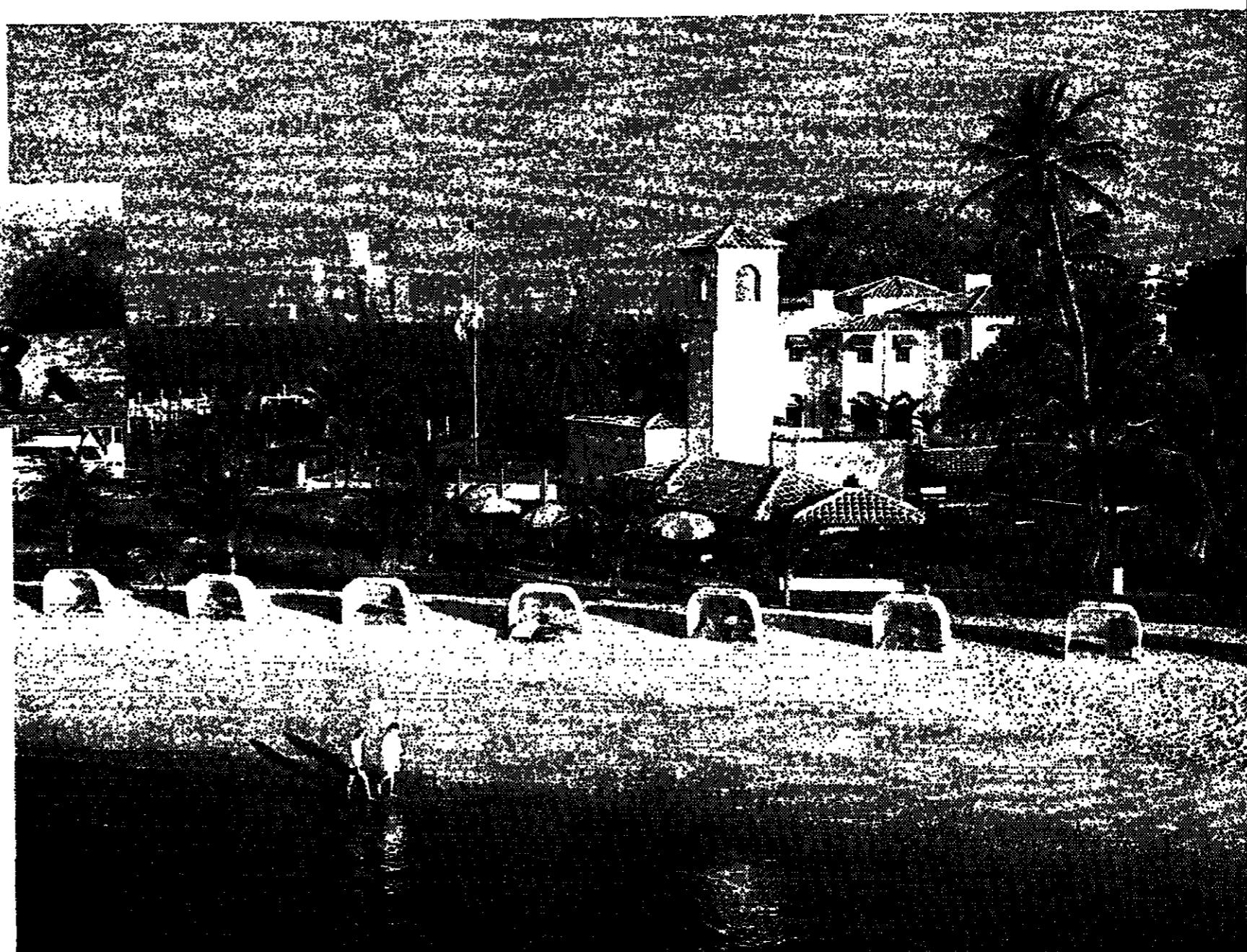
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From Zooties to Technos: Street Fashion's Subversive Edge



By Suzy Menkes
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — It is half a century since the zoot suit tromboned its way into fashion on the backs of Harlem jazz musicians. Thirty years since the first style war was fought on British beaches between streamlined Mods and black-leather-clad Rockers. The hippies' Summer of Love was 25 years ago. Punk has come of age at 18.

To celebrate the middle age of street style — or maybe to mummify it — the Victoria and Albert Museum in London opens Wednesday the first exhibition devoted to the street and its ectoplasmic spread into high fashion. "From Sidewalk to Catwalk" (until Feb. 19) charts the rise of hip style that led to baseball caps and biker jackets on the runway at Chanel, and once nihilistic Punk reduced to designer safety pins by Zandra Rhodes in the 1970s and Gianni Versace in 1993. The show ends with the Supermarket of Style: a rag-bag of raggae, rap and glam-rock-revival looks most understood only by initiates, and giving a tribal identity to music cults — as street style so often does.

A book written in tandem with the exhibition by the social anthropologist Ted Polhemus is more revealing, and more comprehensive, about the phenomenon. "Streetstyle" (Thames and Hudson, London) opens with the trickle-down/bubble-up philosophy that fashion was once set by the designers and is now often absorbed by them from the street. But the real subject of the book is the essence of each group — some already caricatured like punk, hippie and grunge — others obscure. A few, like the rubber-wearing fetishists or "pervs" (short for pervert) or the weird "cyberpunks" (wearing everything but the kitchen microwave) seem decadent.

But, as Polhemus says, street style is not Chanel's homeboy chic — rapper jeans with a gilt-trimmed jacket. It is essentially subversive.

"Street style has an edge to it. It is rooted in rebellion," he says. Polhemus, 47, raised in a strict Methodist family in New Jersey, but 20 years an observer of the London club scene, says that he remembers the purchase of a black leather jacket as "significant for me, a powerful act," when such a garment was worn only on the wrong side of the tracks. In the V & A show, the blown-up image of Marlon Brando in a Perfecto jacket in the 1954 film "The Wild One" encapsulates the image of the outsider, even now that the leather blouson is the stuff of suburban Sundays.



WHERE did street style come from? It is a mirror image of a 20th-century world in which the social pecking order was challenged and ultimately smashed. A chart shows the complex family tree of beatniks and rockabillies, teds and techinos, glam and grunge.

Style tribes divide into those who dress up — socially disenfranchised African- and Hispanic-Americans in the 1940s creating the flamboyant zoot suit — just as rappers in current times flaunt exterior symbols of wealth. The colorful clothes of Rastafarians, "rude boys" and "ragamuffins" all trace their roots back to Jamaica.

Middle-class kids tend to dress down: The hippies rejected both the decorous dress of their parents' generation and the space age futurism of the 1960s (which is back as the plastic and vinyl clothes of today's technos).

The overwhelming contribution of black culture to street style could have been better explored. The exhibition, according to Amy de la Haye, assistant curator of 20th-century dress, concentrates on Britain, a major source of street style since the 1960s. As well as the Mods, Rockers, skinheads, hippies and Punks — all hyped and traduced by media attention — the show includes lesser-known subcultures like Northern Soul (which gave the fashion world "baggies") the ghoulish "Goths" and Asian Bhangra.

Designers have contributed their upscale versions: Yves Saint Laurent's beatnik inspiration; Chanel's sequined surfer suit; rich-hippie interpretations by Moschino or Dolce & Gabbana. The street garments have explanatory labels describing their significance to the wearer. The show includes rare pieces: a Teddy boy drape suit, a neo-Edwardian look in the 1950s.

Everything now seems to relate to a previous trend. So is street style at the end of the fashion road?



Versace's 1993 take on Punk, and Chanel's 1993 homeboy look.



At left, the author Ted Polhemus at Victoria and Albert show, followed by, from left: a London "rude boy" in 1980; a Teddy boy; cyberpunk Donna Nolan; Versace's 1993 take on Punk, and Chanel's 1993 homeboy look.

"In a sense our whole culture is over — all this nostalgia, all this looking back," says Polhemus. "Young people today are nostalgic. When we were growing up, the last thing we wanted was to look back."

Polhemus describes his own experience as a hippie (his picture with drooping hair and squaw headband graces the book). He recalls the shock of Punk when Vivienne Westwood and her Svengali, Malcolm McLaren, appeared with him at a lecture at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in the 1970s.

Punk remains the most vivid and shocking emblem of street style. It grew, as all rebellions have, out of the stolid *embourgeoisement* of style and the need for a younger generation to thumb its noses at society. Grunge similarly unsettled sleek 1980s fashion and was also rooted in no-hope despair with the system. In both cases, there is something unsettling about high-fashion takes on trash-can fashion.

"From the perspective of a kid in South Bronx or Brixton with no job prospects, it is rather insulting to have clothes ripped off his back," says Polhemus, who would like to see those designers influenced by the street giving employment in their studios to raw wannabe designers.

Yet Punk, he believes, has contributed the most to mainstream fashion, by insinuating that anything can be thrown together and that the clash makes music, if not harmony. We now call someone who wears a head-to-toe designer outfit a "fashion victim," whereas in previous eras a well-orchestrated ensemble was the aspiration. Only the poor were reduced to wearing a mishmash of clothes.

The idea of dipping into the past, recycling and borrowing haphazardly from different eras and styles, is not just confined to fashion. Postmodernism in the arts reflects exactly the same concepts. But Polhemus still rates Punk as a seminal fashion movement and one from which everything since is just the aftershock.

"I feel quite strongly, Punk to me is like the Surrealists — once Duchamp had exhibited a urinal with his name on it, what was the point of Pop Art?" he says. "Postmodernism is not about art of clothing; it is about a state of mind."

Street fashion is also about reverting to tribalism. Fashion at the end of the century has become a life raft in a hostile society, an image to cling to in a disintegrating world, a fashion family to belong to, a tribal imperative. Margaret Thatcher's infamous credo could apply equally to style: "Today there is no such thing as society. There are just individuals and their families."

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By Robert Byrne

GARRY KASPAROV beat Alexei Shirov in the all-grandmaster Crédit Suisse Masters Tournament.

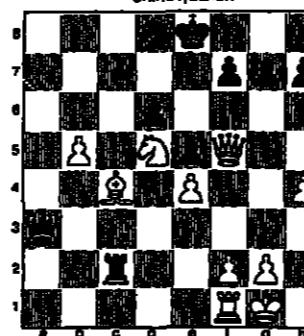
Nowadays it is rare to see a game take the course of the old Sicilian Four Knights Variation with 6 Nc6 bc 7 e5 Nd5 8 Ne4. Most people are convinced that 8...Qc7 9 f4 Qb6 10 c4 Ne3 11 Qd3 Nf5 12 e4 Nd4 13 b3 Bb7 gives Black fully sufficient counterplay. Accordingly, the play usually takes a turn into the Petiljan Variation with 6 Ndb5 d6 7 Bd4 e5 8 Bg5 a6 9 Na3 b5.

In a sprinkling of current games, 13 Bd3 has been tried and also 13 Nc2 Nb8 14 g3, neither producing success, but Kasparov goes right for his plan with 13 Nc2 Nb8 14 e4, forcing the disruption of the black queen-side pawn formation with 14...ba 15 Ra4. This is not uncommon in this general type of position, but after 15...Nd7 16 Rb4! Nc5, it was remarkable that Kasparov could sacrifice rook for bishop with 17 Rb7!! Nb7. Normally, it takes at least a minor piece plus a pawn to compensate for a rook.

Maybe Shirov thought that his line ending in 26...Qa7 would amount to the same thing, but did not. After 27 Nd7!, defense by 27...Ra8 would have been defeated by 28 Nf7 Kb8 29 Qf7! Rd3 Nf8! Qa2 31 Ne5 d5 32 Nf5 Nd6 33 Nd6 Qa7 34 Nc7 35 Qd5!

Moreover, 27...Rg8 28 Bc4 Nf8 29 Nf6! of 30 Qg4 Kb8 31 Nf6 Rf8 32 Qf5 Kg7 33 Qh7 Kf6 34 Qh6 Ke7 35 Qg5 16 36 Qd2 is lost for Black. Shirov must have seen this, too, because he gave back rook for

SHRINE/BLACK



Position after 31...Rb7

KASPAROV/WHITE

THE OTHER MRS. KENNEDY:

Ethel Skakel Kennedy: An American Drama of Power, Privilege and Politics

By Jerry Oppenheimer. 542 pages. \$25.95. St. Martin's.

Reviewed by Amanda Vaill

I'm the interests of full disclosure, let me confess up front that I once worked at the same publishing house (Viking) as Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and that after she left it I inherited her desk chair (only marginally less dilapidated than my previous one) and her typewriter (old, but in good condition). Other than this, I have never had any connection with the Kennedy family — so what I am about to say about "The Other Mrs. Kennedy" has not been influenced by the kinds of pressure Jerry Oppenheimer claims were brought to bear on other critical looks at the Kennedys.

"The Other Mrs. Kennedy: Ethel Skakel Kennedy: An American Drama of Power, Privilege, and Politics" — to give the book the benefit of its full complement of subtitles — is a biography of Robert Kennedy's widow. Actually, "biography" is a loose term for what this book represents. Ethel Kennedy was a tireless campaigner for her husband and his brothers, a sprightly hostess in New Frontier Washington and a staunch, even gallant figure in the aftermath of her husband's assassination — but these attributes would not, by themselves, make her worth 487 pages crammed with text.

The real reason for this book's existence is the public's appetite for gossip. "All history is gossip," the book's epigraph proclaims, and gives President John F. Kennedy as the source. It doesn't tell you where he said it.

And so "The Other Mrs. Kennedy" provides all the dish

about Ethel Skakel Kennedy.

There's the wealthy upbringing

of Jacqueline Onassis

and her husband's

affair with Ethel.

Oppenheimer seems to think so.

The fact is, outsider journal-

ism, when it takes such a de-

determinedly antagonistic view of its

subject, is inherently shrill,

unsatisfying and dull, dull, dull.

It reduces its readers to the sta-

tus of gawkers outside a glittering

party — and any fool knows the

view is always better on the out-

er side of the velvet rope.

Amanda Vaill, a biogra-

pher and journalist living in New

York, wrote this for The Wash-

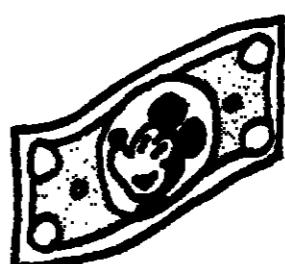
ington Post.

BOOKS

WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Olli-Pekka Kallasvuo, chief financial officer of Nokia Group in Helsinki, is reading "The Disney Touch" by Ron Grover.

"It is a very interesting look at how Michael Eisner changed Disney when he took it over and made it so successful. Of course, that was before Euro Disney." (Erik Ipsen, IHT)



sources in his acknowledgment. In some cases his notes list interviews with named sources — friends, family or acquaintances — of his subjects in many more the source is anonymous.

The reader is not reassured to discover the text littered with errors, of which the most obvious are the rendering of Ethel's husband's name as Robert Francis Kennedy, the neologism "kudo" instead of the correct singular, "kudos," and the author's apparent belief that Ethel was related by marriage to a thoroughbred trainer named Horatio Luuro (it's Luuro) — and misspelling his name is like referring to Joe DiMaggio. In his field, he's that famous.

What's the excuse for all this carelessness and sleaziness? Is it adversarial bottom-fishing a synonym for objective journalism?

Oppenheimer seems to think so.

The fact is, outsider journal-

ism, when it takes such a de-

determinedly antagonistic view of its

subject, is inherently shrill,

unsatisfying and dull, dull, dull.

It reduces its readers to the sta-

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Amanda Vaill, a biogra-

pher and journalist living in New

York, wrote this for The Wash-

ington Post.

TO OUR READERS IN HOLLAND

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BASF to Buy Boots Unit for \$1.4 Billion

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Boots Co., in a long-awaited move, said Monday it had agreed in principle to sell its pharmaceutical unit to BASF AG of Germany for about \$250 million (\$1.4 billion).

Completion of the sale depends on approval by the boards of both companies and regulatory approvals, said Boots, Britain's leading pharmacy and consumer-products chain.

Boots said last year it was considering selling its third-largest division to focus on core retail operations. The division reported a 6 percent increase in sales to £228 million in the first half of 1994 and a 70 percent rise in profit, to £49.8 million.

"This deal offers exciting prospects for the international expansion of our pharmaceuticals business, and for its staff," said James Blyth, deputy chairman and chief executive.

"It's a very good fit, therapeutically and geographically," said Thordel Spieckens, chief executive of BASF Pharma, which holds the pharmaceutical operations of BASF.

A company spokesman declined to say when the sale might close or what Boots would do with the money. Options include a dividend in-

crease, a share buyback, a strategic acquisition or a combination of all three, said Alastair Eperon, a spokesman.

Mr. Eperon said the company was particularly interested in acquisitions in the growing German over-the-counter drug market, although he said "we have no objection to giving it back to shareholders."

Their avowed strategic intent is the over-the-counter health care market in Europe," said John Richards, a NatWest Securities analyst. "We would certainly expect them to make some strategic acquisitions."

Analysts expressed little surprise at the announcement, and stock prices of Boots and BASF were nearly unchanged.

(Bloomberg, AP)

Cookson Courts Matthey

The British materials and metals companies Cookson Group PLC and Johnson Matthey PLC confirmed they were in merger talks that could lead to the creation of a £2.5 billion company, Bloomberg Business News reported from London.

A statement from Cookson, an electronic materials, ceramics and plastics company with a market capitalization of £1.4 billion, said discussions were still at a "relatively early stage."

(Bloomberg, APX)

New Drug Lifts Schering Profit

Reuters

BERLIN — Schering AG said Monday that net profit rose 8 percent in the first nine months of 1994 on strong sales of its new multiple sclerosis drug Betaseron.

Schering earned 210 million Deutsche marks (\$137 million) in the period. Sales rose 14 percent, to 3.5 billion DM. Sales of Betaseron accounted for 230 million DM of the total.

The company also predicted its full-year profit would be up 10 percent.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

STOCKHOLM — Markets here soared Monday in celebration of voters' decision Sunday to let Sweden join the European Union and in expectation that the move would lead the government to cut its huge deficit.

Stocks on the Affarsverlden index climbed 2.2 percent, to 1,913.28. Bond prices followed suit, climbing 1.3 percent.

The kronor rose initially, especially against the Deutsche mark, but then faded. In early New York trading, a dollar

English Daily in Prague

U.S. Publisher Courts Thriving Market

By Jane Perlez
New York Times Service

PRAGUE — Eastern Europe's first daily English-language newspaper since the collapse of communism was launched Monday by a young American publisher who has made a name here with a daily publication distributed by facsimile machine.

The eight-page Bohemia Daily Standard was designed for the growing number of English-speaking business travelers and expatriate business executives and diplomats who go to a bank and can get an appraisal on your building that suits you," rather than the market value, he said.

Mr. Best, 32, shows little concern about current competition. There are two independent English-language weeklies published in the Czech Republic, The Prague Post and Prognos. Three English-language weeklies of varying quality and focus are published in Budapest, and there is one in Warsaw. But Mr. Best hopes to fill a niche for the expatriate community by providing in-depth coverage of local and foreign news.

"There's a gap of daily news for foreigners," said Mr. Best, who has been putting out his daily fax publication, Fleet Sheet, an English-language summary of the Czech press, since 1991. "And there's so much self-censor-

ship in the Czech press that a truly independent paper will be able to say things the Czech press is afraid to say."

Mr. Best, 32, says there are many aspects of Czech life and politics that need solid reporting. The banking system, for example, appears to be a prime target for aggressive news coverage. There have been several bank failures recently, as well as reports of under-the-table payments for loans. "You go to a bank and can get an appraisal on your building that suits you," rather than the market value, he said.

The Standard has a start-up editorial staff of 20, including the editor, Francis Harris, a former correspondent for The Daily Telegraph of Britain.

The paper's debut comes near the fifth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution that toppled the Communist regime Nov. 17, 1989. To mark the occasion, The Standard will run anniversary photographs and an article by President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic.

Mr. Best says he hopes the paper, which costs 10 koruny, or about 35 cents, will develop a circulation of 5,000 to 10,000.

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The paper

Sharp Agrees To Cooperate With Fujitsu

By Steven Brull

International Herald Tribune

TOKYO — Aiming to stem the tide of technological change from across the Pacific, two of Japan's leading electronics companies, Sharp Corp. and Fujitsu Ltd., announced an agreement Monday to jointly develop multimedia products and services.

If the alliance were to flourish, the two companies, with their complementary technological strengths, could make a significant impact on Japan's efforts in the multimedia field, which combines data, voice and graphic information.

But while their long-term goals are ambitious, executives cautioned that at least for now, cooperation would be limited and at arm's length.

"We plan to develop new systems based on technologies that each company has developed independently," Mikio Otsuki, Fujitsu's executive vice president, said. "We have no plans to exchange personnel or set up a new company for joint research and development."

Sharp is the world's leading supplier of liquid crystal displays used in notebook computers and a successful innovator of high-technology consumer

products, such as personal organizers. Fujitsu, Japan's biggest computer company, is a leader in telecommunications.

The companies said their initial project was to improve the telecommunications ability of Sharp's portable information device, Zaurus, allowing it to connect easily with Fujitsu's on-line information service, NIFTYserve, beginning this month.

The impetus to develop products and services has been heightened by fast-paced changes in technology that are undermining the traditional businesses of Japan's electronics industry.

Competition from chipmakers from South Korea and other countries has lessened Japanese companies' dominance in the memory-chip market.

At the same time, U.S. companies such as Compaq Computer Corp. and Apple Computer Inc. have been making inroads into the Japanese personal computer market.

Moreover, U.S. software companies such as Microsoft are increasingly setting a technological agenda that has relegated many Japanese companies to the role of suppliers of high-tech components.

After Game Boy, It's Virtual Boy

Nintendo to Launch a \$199, 32-Bit Stereoscopic Wonder

By John Markoff
New York Times Service

SAN FRANCISCO — Seeking to revitalize a slowing video-game market, Nintendo Co. was due to announce Monday a low-priced "virtual reality" game system that it would begin selling in Japan and the United States in April.

The system, known as Virtual Boy, uses a display technology pioneered by Reflection Technology Inc., a small private company in Waltham, Massachusetts. To play a Virtual Boy game, a user must look directly into two miniature displays to view stereoscopic images created by arrays of red light-emitting diodes, or LEDs.

The game, which has a 32-bit microprocessor and which will require specially written software, will sell for \$199. It is to be demonstrated in the United States for the first time at a consumer electronics show in January.

Nintendo also said it had made a minority investment in Reflection Technology, which has 20 employees and would make the tiny screens used for the game under a licensing agreement in Japan.

Nintendo currently sells a portable system called Game Boy that is designed to run versions of the company's 16-bit video games.

The only similarity between this new game and the existing Game Boy product happens to be the second half of its name," said Peter Main, Nintendo of America's vice president of marketing. "This is a new genre of game-playing device."

Both Nintendo and Sega Enterprises Ltd., its Japanese competitor, have been searching for ways to reinvigorate the market for their games while they await the arrival of more powerful 32-bit game systems sometime next year.

Many analysts of the video-

game industry expect this Christmas season to be disappointing because the two companies have already sold about 33 million 16-bit game systems saturating the market.

Next year, competition is expected to be stronger. 3DO Corp. and Atari Corp. are already selling 32-bit and 64-bit games, and Sony Corp. is expected to enter the U.S. market with its own game, introduced recently in Japan.

"Next year there will be a big scoring out," Mr. Main said.

Sega, attempting to pick up

momentum in its Christmas sales, has recently begun selling a system known as the 32X, which works as an add-in with the company's current 16-bit games, giving them more power and better performance. Sega's next-generation system is expected to be available in the United States for next year's holiday season.

Nintendo, meanwhile, is developing a generation of video games known as Project Reality, with Silicon Graphics Inc., that also is expected to be available during the 1995 holiday season.

For this year's holidays, Nintendo and Sega executives hope consumers will be attracted by new programs. Nintendo is counting on Donkey Kong Country, the latest addition to its Donkey Kong series, while Sega has added a character, Knuckles, to its Sonic the Hedgehog lineup.

"Contrary to most opinions, the cartridge game market is alive and well and exceptionally healthy this Christmas," said Lee Isgur, a financial analyst at Jefferies & Co. in San Francisco.

The Virtual Boy's LED display provides only shades of red against a black background, but Nintendo officials said the game created a feeling of depth that was not possible with conventional television or computer monitors.

TOKYO — Casio Computer Co. on Monday unveiled a still camera with a liquid crystal display that shows the image being recorded and plays back a photograph after it has been taken.

Casio said it would sell the camera, the first of its type, starting in February. It is the same size as a regular compact camera and is to cost 65,000 yen (\$665). The company said it would produce about 3,000 units a month.

Instead of using conventional film, the camera converts pictures into digital form and stores as many as 96 of them on a chip. They can then be transferred to a computer or videotape.

Casio said it hoped the camera would be used to take pictures of product samples and real estate that could then be incorporated in business presentations.

The new Casio camera is similar in principle to a liquid-crystal-display video camera, the first of which was released by Sharp Corp. two years ago. Rather than peering through a viewfinder, the user looks at the 1.8-inch (4.6-centimeter) screen to see what the camera is photographing.

Investor's Asia

	Hong Kong	Singapore	Tokyo
	Hang Seng	Straits Times	Nikkei 225
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1991	2,000	2,000	2,000
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ic**NYSE****Mondays' Closing**

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

12 Month High Low Stock	Div	Yld	PE	1994	High	Low	Last Chg
AT&T	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
American Express	1.20	6.5	15.5	100.00	100.00	99.00	-1.00
AT&T Corp.	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
AT&T Long Distance	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
AT&T Mobility	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
AT&T Telecommunications	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Bell Atlantic	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Bell South	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Citigroup	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Coca-Cola	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Eastman Kodak	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Ford Motor	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
General Electric	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
IBM	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Johnson & Johnson	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Kodak	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Lever Brothers	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Merck	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
National Semiconductor	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Pfizer	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Procter & Gamble	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
RJR Nabisco	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Sears, Roebuck & Co.	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
United Technologies	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Verizon	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Walt Disney	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Westinghouse	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Yankee	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50

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Lever Brothers	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Merck	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
National Semiconductor	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
Pfizer	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0.50
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United Technologies	1.50	7.1	16.5	103.00	103.00	102.00	-0

U.S. Firms to Keep Software Edge

Large Domestic Market Helps in Worldwide Efforts

By Mitchell Martin
International Herald Tribune

LAS VEGAS — American companies are destined to dominate the world market for computer programs for the foreseeable future, but consumers in other countries are likely to see falling prices and quicker local versions of U.S. software, industry executives said.

Addressing an international marketing forum that kicked off the annual Comdex autumn trade exhibition Sunday, executives from several companies told U.S. software writers they could tackle growing overseas markets by approaching them with the aid of local partners. Comdex is the world's largest computer trade show.

The key American advantage over foreign programmers is a large, well-developed home market with one language and one culture, which allows programmers to benefit from economies of scale unavailable in other countries.

Just as in the music and motion picture markets, about 70 percent of software sold in Europe is American in origin, while 30 percent comes from "local heroes," said Florian Müller of SWM Software Marketing GmbH.

Europe is the most likely target market for many software companies, according to Mark Busby, president of BSCA Inc., a consulting company. Although sales grew

at a relatively tame 12 percent rate in the first half of this year, according to data from the Software Publishers Association, he said the market made it attractive to U.S. companies.

In the first half, European software sales were \$1.25 billion, more than a third the size of the \$3.08 billion American market. Although Asia grew far faster in the period, at a 49 percent clip, sales there were only \$576.5 million.

A key element in many of the presentations at the international marketing forum was that companies needed to "localize" their programs for different markets. This includes not only translating the software but also taking account of different conventions for such things as dates, numbers and currencies.

The costs of localizing programs are considerable; just translating instruction manuals can cost \$100 a page, said Jack Plumpton, a marketing specialist who is president of Japan Entry, a consulting company. But several executives said that if the costs were borne as part of developing the programs, the price could be as little as 10 percent of the bill for localizing programs designed solely for the American market.

The foreign versions must appear as soon as possible after the American products. "A lot of the world watches what

happens in the U.S. or European-language market to see what is coming down the road," said Ken Powles, manager of globalization at Microsoft Corp.

Mr. Powles said that Microsoft recently introduced a U.S. upgrade of one of its programs, which he would not identify, followed several months later by a Japanese version. He said Japanese consumers stopped buying the program after the American upgrade came out, waiting for the local upgraded version. "There is an enormous price for delaying," he added.

Microsoft now writes its programs to be shipped simultaneously in English, German and Japanese, and about a dozen other languages are ready within 30 days, Mr. Powles said.

While watching the American market for new products, computer users also keep an eye on U.S. prices, several executives said, and they have been refusing to pay the significant premiums that had been the norm — software prices have been falling in Europe.

Mr. Müller suggested that American programmers link up with co-publishers, companies that help add local content for their home markets, rather than re-publishers, which essentially help translate and market U.S.-designed programs.

INDONESIA: A Trade Showcase

Continued from Page 9

of APEC, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, endorse a plan Tuesday for free or almost free movement of goods, services and capital in the region by 2020.

"I have spoken to President Suharto several times during the year, and I know how committed he is to achieving this goal," Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia said. "Past pressure for trade liberalization has come from the industrialized countries. Now, for the first time, a developing country has said we should commit ourselves to a free-trade outcome."

As a result of a deregulation program started cautiously by the Suharto government in the early 1980s, Indonesia's manufactured exports have grown by an average of 20 percent a year since 1986.

"Indonesia actually has no other choice but to support free trade," the Jakarta Post said in a recent editorial. "Trading involves two-way traffic. Indonesia cannot continue to expand its exports without opening its market as well."

In June, the Suharto government risked nationalist ire when it announced another deregulation package aimed at improving the investment climate. The measures opened up several previously closed sectors to foreign capital and eliminated barriers to 100 percent foreign-owned investment.

"Foreign capital is no longer seen as a demon" in Indonesia, said Don B. Westmore, regional director for international public affairs at PT AT&T Indonesia, a unit of AT&T Corp. "It is regarded as a positive contribution to development."

But while many Indonesian companies are benefiting from the free flow of goods and capital, analysts said that companies controlled by relatives and friends of Mr. Suharto had been prominent in recent contract signings.

"We can't complain too much about the first family business," an Indonesian economist said. "After all, they spearhead the privatization program."

Several of Mr. Suharto's six children have become increasingly active in business in recent years, obtaining numerous government contracts. As a result, they have faced growing criticism for allegedly using political influence to build up vast business empires.

When AT&T was awarded contracts in August valued at \$110 million from state-owned PT Telekomunikasi Indonesia for digital switching and transmission equipment, fiber-optic cables and telephone operating systems, its local partner was PT Citra Telekomunikasi, a company controlled by Siti Hardianti Rukmana, Mr. Suharto's eldest daughter.

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New Global Standard Is Set for Digital Signals

The Associated Press

SINGAPORE — A global protocol was announced Monday that will standardize the transmission of high-quality digital signals.

Developers say the move will revolutionize television programming and communications worldwide.

Known as MPEG-2, the protocol received "international standard" status at the conclusion of a five-day meeting of the Geneva-based International Standards Organization and the International Electrotechnical Commission.

MPEG, which stands for Moving Picture Coding Experts Group, provides for

uniform delivery around the world of high-quality, low-cost digital TV signals for home entertainment, computer messages, teleconferencing and multimedia.

Users will attach an MPEG device — essentially a semiconductor chip — to their computers or televisions to link up with a network served by either satellite or land telephone lines.

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Monday's 4 p.m.
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

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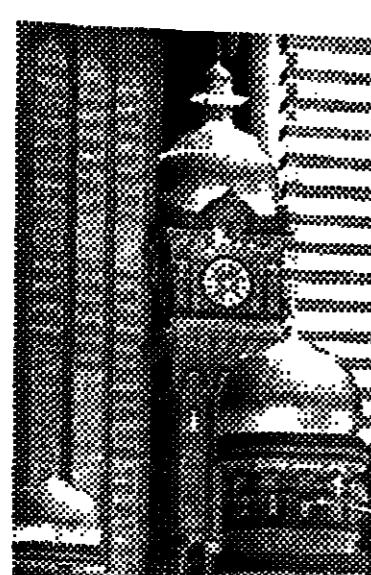
Monday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to
the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect
state trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1994

Sales Figures are unofficial. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 52 weeks plus the current week, but not the latest trading day. Where a split or stock dividend amounting to 25 percent or more has been paid, the year's high-low range and dividend are shown for the new stock only. Unless otherwise noted, rates of dividends are annual disbursements based on the latest declaration.

- a — **Accrued dividends**.
- b — **Annual rate of dividend plus stock dividend.**
- c — **Liquidating dividend.**
- cd — **Called.**
- d — **New yearly low.**
- e — **Dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months.**
- f — **Dividend in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-resident tax.**
- g — **Dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend.**
- h — **Dividend paid this year, omitted, deferred, or no action taken at latest shareholders' meeting.**
- i — **Dividend declared or paid this year, an accumulative issue with dividends in arrears.**
- j — **New issue in the past 52 weeks. The high-low range begins with the start of trading.**
- nd — **Next day delivery.**
- P/E — **Price-earnings ratio.**
- r — **Dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, plus stock dividend.**
- s — **Stock split. Dividend begins with date of split.**
- u — **Yearly high.**
- v — **Trading halted.**
- wl — **In bankruptcy or receivership or being reorganized under the Bankruptcy Act, or securities assumed by such companies.**
- wd — **When distributed.**
- wi — **When issued.**
- ww — **With warrants.**
- x — **Ex-dividend or ex-rights.**
- xdls — **Ex-distribution.**
- xw — **Without warrants.**
- y — **Ex-dividend and sales in full.**
- Yld — **Yield.**

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SPORTS

In Season Finales, Navratilova Faces the End as Sampras Eyes the Top

Women's Star, 38, Is Ready To Quit After N.Y.C. Slims

By Robin Finn
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Martina Navratilova has dreamed it, dined on it, decoded it with astrologers and tarot cards: retirement has been fraught with peril and possibility. And now, with immediacy.

The late tennis sage Ted Tinling once pigeon-holed Navratilova as a gloriously mortal champion whose on-court attitude "rang from arrogance to panic with nothing in between."

These days she is a legend on the cusp of turning more mortal

become thick as a sequoia trunk or thin as a stiletto, ungrippable in either case. She's had to face Nancy Kerrigan on skates on a tennis court made of ice.

Navratilova is curious about what will happen when the cheering stops. Over the past year, she has sought out mystics for the answer, in a tiny Thai restaurant in New York City, and, again on a whim, at a tiny roadside booth in Houston.

"Nobody else had told me I had to quit, or I absolutely should," said Navratilova, "but there I was, on the side of the road in Houston getting my tarot cards read by someone who didn't know me from Adam, and she told me the same thing the astrologer did, that I have two lifetimes, and the first one is coming to an end."

If the occult was in favor of retirement, her body parts were aching for it, and her mind could use a break.

"There's an arrogance about her still, and that's what's allowed her to stay competitive," said her coach, Craig Kardon.

"She really had no business being top five in the world at her age with the type of game she plays, but by being crafty, she's kept up with girls who can hit the ball twice as hard as she does."

"But lately I think that same arrogance is also telling her something else, that maybe it is time to quit," he added.

Navratilova announced her impending retirement a year ago. Since then, while other players stayed sequestered in their hotel rooms, sustained themselves with room service and synchronized their watches to their matches, Navratilova set her timetable to friends, food and fun.

In May, after she lost in the first round of the French Open, she discussed opting for retirement on the spot and didn't calm down until she'd been distracted by a trio of desserts. She decided to work off the calories by showing up as scheduled for her favorite Wimbledon tuneup in seaside Eastbourne, England.

Instead of retiring, she then went on to Wimbledon's final, a journey that was part sentimental, part inevitable.

Navratilova skipped the next two months of the circuit. Plans for her retirement ranch outside Aspen, Colorado, went into full gear; but other plans, from learning to snowboard to following her friend Chris Evert into the TV booth, were put on hold.

By the end of the summer, she had made her peace with closing out a career that has spilled over into three decades and spanned dozens of records.

Until this year, the sixth-ranked Navratilova had managed to maintain a top five ranking and win at least two titles annually since 1975. The woman who won nine Wimbledons and

"stunts your personal growth," said Navratilova. "It stunts your relationships. For 25 years I've let tennis make all my decisions for me; it was like a convenient blanket, and I hid behind it. Next year I won't have it, and I don't want it."

But Navratilova's subconscious hasn't quite caught up with this view on retirement.

In her dreams, she says, the handle of her tennis racket has

hungered to "hit double digits"

merol in hand, her dog in her

lap and a wokful of organic

vegetables sizzling on the stove

while unwinding beside the fire-

place in a friend's kitchen.

"I'm definitely hurtling into a

question mark," she said, "but I

feel very much in control — as

much as anybody can be when

they're going into an unknown

zone. I had a momentary panic

about this being my last tournament;

I wondered if people will

want to open any doors to me

after this. But if you are indeed

defined by your acts, then this is

a piece of cake compared to what I did in 1975."

What Navratilova did, at 18

and oblivious to any conse-

quences, was to defect from

what was then a Communist

nation, Czechoslovakia, to the

United States. She described it

as a liberating act that she

would do again even if Czechoslovakia had not been behind an Iron Curtain.

Her one professional regret is

that she never won a calendar-

year Grand Slam. She doubts

anyone else will surpass her 167

career titles, her 109-match

doubles streak alongside Pam

Shriver, her six consecutive

Grand Slam singles crowns or

her 74-match singles streak.

On the personal front, she re-

grets nothing, particularly not

her decision to defy the advice of

clothing her homosexuality for

the sake of a better public image

and bigger marketing clout.

"I was advised to put men in

the friends' box at Wimbledon,

but I couldn't live with myself if

I put up a front like that," she

said. "It's changing now, but I

still don't know why it's O.K.

for a singer like Elton John, or a

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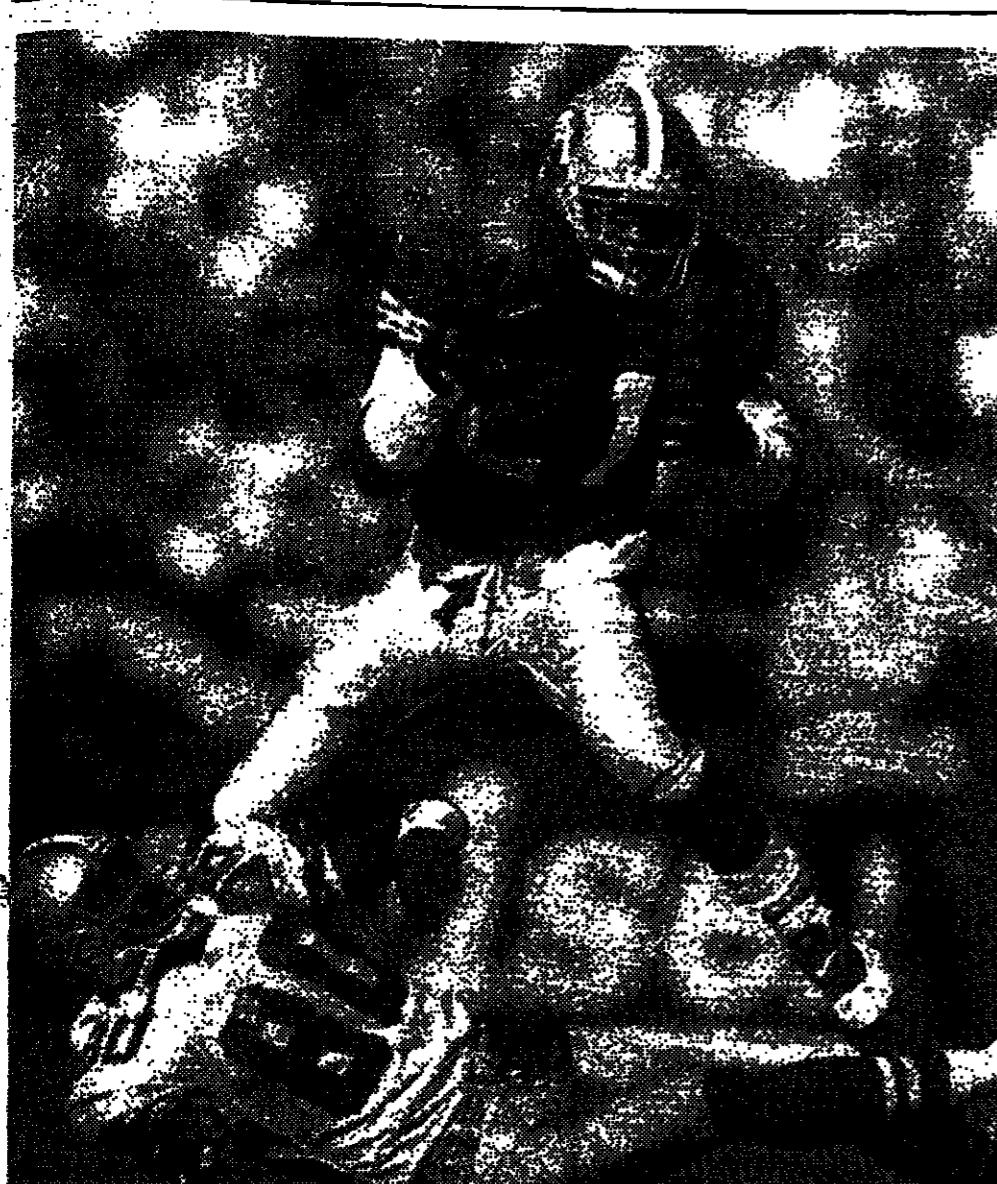
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SPORTS

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1994

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Leaping over the Cowboys' Alvin Harper, cornerback Deion Sanders came up with one of three San Francisco interceptions of Troy Aikman passes in the 49ers' victory.

49ers Rattle the Cowboys' Pedestal, 21-14

By Leonard Shapiro

Washington Post Service

SAN FRANCISCO — The San Francisco 49ers sent a message that came out loud and clear and was beamed coast to coast: The Dallas Cowboys may be a two-time defending Super Bowl champion, but they are not invincible.

With quarterback Steve Young making like a running back and safety Merton Hanks doing his best impression of a

sure-handed receiver, the 49ers ended a three-game losing streak to the Cowboys with a 21-14 victory at Candlestick Park on Sunday that left both teams with 8-2 records and heavy favorites to meet again in the National Football Conference championship game in January.

"We punched back finally," said Young, who rushed for 60 yards on eight carries and scored a touchdown. "We've taken a couple of pretty good punches the last couple of years. These kind of games are a true test of character. They're not very pretty, but if you win, you don't really care how it looked."

The 49ers also know the Cowboys were not at full strength this cool, sun-drenched afternoon. Their quarterback, Troy Aikman, rapped his right thumb on a teammate's hand in practice Friday and suffered a deep bruise on the bone.

Aikman had three of his passes intercepted, two by Hanks when the Cowboys were in prime scoring position. And while Aikman didn't want to use the injury as an excuse, he also said: "There were different throws in the game I was not as accurate with. It would be wrong to say it had a major impact. There were different times I had a problem getting a grip on the ball."

That was not a problem for Hanks, whose first interception came with Dallas at the 49ers 16, and whose second

came with Dallas at the 49ers 7 and driving to a potential tying score with 6:10 remaining.

The 49ers were leading 14-7 at the time on Young's 57-yard touchdown pass to wide receiver Jerry Rice with 2:40 remaining in the third quarter. After that last turnover from Hanks, Young drove his team 87 yards in 11 plays for a 13-yard touchdown pass to tight end Brent Jones. That made the score 21-17 with 2:32 remaining.

The Cowboys got back to within a touchdown when running back Emmitt Smith scored on a two-yard run with 1:20 to play. But when wide receiver Deion McCaffrey recovered the ensuing onside kick, the 49ers ran out the clock.

Aikman's second pass of the day resulted in the game's first controversy. Aiming for tight end Jay Novacek, his throw bounced off the tight end's fingers and looked to have been intercepted by Hanks at midfield.

Officials ruled the pass incomplete, but replays showed the ball never hit the ground. Dallas punted two plays later.

The 49ers had an interception late in the first quarter when Aikman aimed at wide receiver Alvin Harper on the right sideline. Harper slipped, and cornerback Deion Sanders stepped up and caught the ball. Sanders had an open field, but Harper managed to trip him and the 49ers had the ball at the 50.

In other games, *The Associated*

Press reported:

Raiders 20, Rams 17: In Anaheim, California, Jeff Hostetler, removed in the fourth quarter with a sprained big toe, threw first-half TD passes of 27 yards to Andrew Glover and 10 yards to Rocket Ismail. Jeff Jaeger added fourth-quarter field goals of 44 and 47 yards for the Raiders (5-5).

The Rams (4-6) also lost their quarterback when Chris Chandler left in the second quarter with a sprained ankle.

Broncos 17, Seahawks 10: Leonard

Russell ran for 109 yards and an 11-yard TD with 5:43 left as Denver (4-6) stopped visiting Seattle (3-7). Russell's winning run capped an 80-yard, nine-play drive led by John Elway, who completed all five of his passes on the march and finished 17 for 32 for 146 yards.

Packers 17, Jets 10: Brett Favre threw TD passes of 13 yards to Sterling Sharpe and 17 yards to Anthony Morgan as the Packers (6-4) overcame New York (5-5) in Green Bay, Wisconsin, for their third straight victory.

Buccaneers 14, Buccaneers 9: A 69-yard run by Barry Sanders and an ensuing penalty set up a third-quarter Dave Krieg TD pass to Herman Moore that secured Detroit's victory over visiting Tampa Bay.

The victory kept the Lions (5-5) in the playoff picture. It was the fifth straight loss for the Bucs (2-8).

In earlier games, reported Monday in some editions of the *Herold Tribune*:

Patriots 26, Vikings 20: Drew Bledsoe set NFL records for completions and attempts in leading New England (4-6) back from a 20-point deficit to victory in overtime over visiting Minnesota (7-3).

Bledsoe set league marks of 45 completions and 70 attempts in throwing for 426 yards and three touchdowns. He broke the record of 68 pass attempts (Houston's George Blanda, 1964) and 42 completions (the Jets' Richard Todd, 1980).

Bengals 34, Oilers 31: In Cincinnati, Jeff Blake was blessed again in leading the Bengals (2-8) to their second straight victory and leaving Houston (1-9) as the NFL's worst team.

Hobbling Blake (23 of 33 for 354 yards) finished with four TD passes, coming off the X-ray table with a sprained ankle and hitting a 50-yard pass to set up Doug Pelfrey's last-play, 40-yard field goal for the victory.

Chargers 14, Chiefs 13: In Kansas City, San Diego (8-2) bounced back from a 13-0 deficit late in the third quarter when Stan Humphries (21 of 36

for 206 yards) threw TD passes of 52, 2 yards to Sean Jefferson, and 5 yards to Duane Young with 6:41 left in the game.

Joe Montana (20 of 46 for 178 yards), who took the ball to the Chiefs' 8 to set up the winning points, the Chiefs (6-4) fell two games behind the Chargers in the AFC West.

Saints 33, Falcons 32: Morten Andersen kicked his sixth game-winning field goal against Atlanta (5-5), this one from 39 yards with eight seconds left, to lift New Orleans (4-6) at home.

Cardinals 10, Giants 9: A quarterback change from Dave Brown to Kent Graham couldn't help New York (3-7) avoid its seventh straight loss.

Steve Beuerlein found Bryan Reeves, on a 9-yard TD pass with 1:39 remaining, to rally Arizona (4-6). The Cardinals, with their first victory at Giants Stadium since 1983, were down 9-0 at the half. But Greg Davis kicked a 45-yard field goal in the third quarter and the Cardinals held New York to 56 yards in the second half.

Browns 26, Eagles 7: Cleveland's defense shut down Randall Cunningham, Matt Stover kicked four field goals and Mark Rypien added a 3-yard TD pass to Mark Carrier as the Browns (8-2) won for the seventh time in eight games.

The Browns held the Eagles (7-3) to 28 yards as the AFC Central leaders ended Philadelphia's seven-game home winning streak.

Dolphins 17, Dolphins 14: Kevin Butler kicked a 40-yard field goal with 59 seconds left and Pete Stoyanovich missed a 45-yarder with two seconds left as the Bears (6-4) hung on to stop the Dolphins (7-3) in Miami.

Chicago got one of the NFL's more bizarre TDs off a fake-field goal when receiver Curtis Conway's deflected pass ended up in Keith Jennings's hands and produced a 23-yard score.

SIDELINES

Oilers Said to Fire Coach and Aide

HOUSTON (AP) — The Houston Oilers, whose 1-9 record is the worst in the National Football League, on Monday fired their coach, Jack Pardee, and assistant coach, Kevin Gilbride, a Houston radio station reported.

KTRH, the station for the Oilers radio broadcasts, said Pardee would be replaced by Jeff Fisher, the team's defensive coordinator. Pardee and Gilbride, who was in charge of the offense, had been under fire since the start of the season.

Pardee was in the final year of a five-year contract. In the previous four seasons, the Oilers made the playoffs but failed to get past the first round. Last year, the team started 1-4 but won 11 straight to finish 12-4 and won the AFC Central Division title.

Kelly said he was informing FIFA, soccer's world governing body, of the action but did not expect FIFA to intervene.

Grobelsiar, who helped Zimbabwe to a 2-1 victory over Zaire in an African Nations Cup match in Namibia Sunday, is expected back in England this week. He is due to play for Southampton against Arsenal on Saturday.

The British tabloid The Sun alleged last week that the goalkeeper had taken a \$40,000 (\$64,000) bribe from a betting syndicate in return for letting in three goals in Liverpool's 3-0 loss. The tabloid said the allegations were supported by secret videotapes and recordings, which it turned over to the FA for investigation. British police also said they would investigate the claim.

Grobelsiar has said repeatedly that the Sun's claims are false, and he is suing the tabloid for defamation.

But he pledged last week to cooperate fully with the FA probe into the allegations.

The goalkeeper, 37, spent 13 seasons with Liverpool and helped the team win six league championships, three FA Cups and European soccer's top trophy, the Champions' Cup, in 1984.

"I think it would be very extreme if we were to suspend a player before he had a chance to explain himself," Kelly said. "We cannot preempt the case, we cannot pre-judge him."

In Harare, Grobelsiar said Monday that he was happy that he could carry on playing while he fought the charges.

"I am very pleased that I have not been suspended but I'm very disappointed that the charges have been made against me," he said.

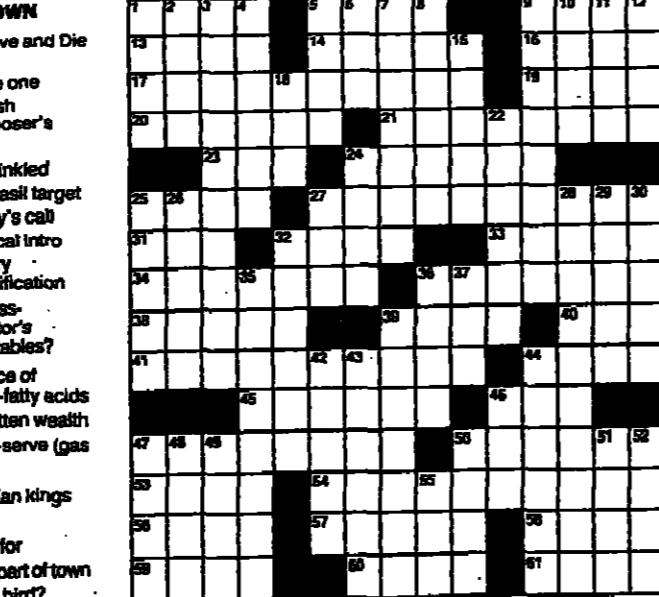
The goalkeeper, who has consistently denied the allegations, said his lawyers in Liverpool would produce his side of the story "at the proper time."

Kelly said a disciplinary commission of the FA would be set up to hear the charges against the goalkeeper, who now plays for Southampton.

"We view the charges as very serious indeed," Kelly said. "He has time to consider the charges and consult with his advisers and come back to us."

"There is every hope that it

CROSSWORD



Solution to Puzzle of Nov. 14

ALIBI IDEA RAGS
BETON KILN AGRA
EASYDOES IT TEAL
TRADED HAH INC
XES EMOTED
AMMO HEROES DANIO ION
SEARS HASTIE SWASTE
HASTE MAKES WASTE
ELK RATED SPLIT
FLEDGE TESS
CAROUSEL EDS
ERIN DUDE INURED
LEAD ONE AT A TIME
LATE RIMS GAMMA
OSAR STOP SHEAF

47 "all in this together"
48 Press clothes
49 Cylindrical building
50 Nonstop capital
51 Station
52 General's catch of the day?
53 Slow
54 Balala's mount
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New Grand Prix Champ Has No Regrets

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ADELAIDE, Australia — Michael Schumacher was making no apologies Monday for becoming the first German world Formula One champion after he and his chief rival, Damon Hill of Britain, were forced out of the Australian Grand Prix by a crash.

Hill, trailing Schumacher by a point going into the Adelaide street race Sunday, needed to beat the German to win the crown. But his hopes vanished when his Williams-Renault suffered damage to a suspension arm in the crash that also knocked Schumacher out of the race.

"It would have certainly been more sweet to win a world championship other than like this, but if you take the whole season then I think it's fair to say that I deserved the championship," Schumacher said.

Schumacher won the season's first four races and led the field by 33 points after the Canadian Grand Prix, the fifth of the year, in June. Overall, he won eight of the season's 16 races, despite a two-race suspension.

But Britain's tabloid newspapers were

united on Monday in questioning Schumacher's title victory.

"Smash and grab," was the Daily Mail's headline. "Schumied out!" raged the Daily Express.

A Sun editorial commented: "Damon Hill should be world champion today. He was robbed of the title not by lack of skill or courage, but by Michael Schumacher's dirty driving."

In The Mirror, a caption under a photo of the collision said, "This is the moment when Michael Schumacher was braced a cheat."

Schumacher and his Benetton team chief, Flavio Briatore, said the crash was accidental, caused because his car was undriveable. It had been crippled by the German's heavy impact with the trackside wall moments earlier.

Said Hill, "People all over the world will be debating for a long time what really happened."

Nigel Mansell of Britain, Hill's Williams-Renault teammate, won the race Sunday but said his next challenge was to find a contract for next season.

"We might go fishing, we might go motor racing, really it's in the hands of the powers that be," he said.

Mansell, 41, is negotiating with Williams-Renault about partnering Hill next season. Williams-Renault already has Hill under contract and could use David Coulthard, who raced for the team after the death of Ayrton Senna in the San Marino Grand Prix.

Mansell, who raced four times for Williams this season, said he expected a decision within two to three weeks. Several other teams also are reported to be interested in signing him.

"Everyone will just have to be a little bit more patient," said Mansell, the 1992 Formula One champion and 1993 IndyCar Series champion. "I think you'll find that it will be sorted out in the next couple of weeks."

Mansell spent 1993 and most of 1994 driving in IndyCar races. His victory in Adelaide was his first there in seven attempts.

(AP, Reuters, AP)

ART BUCHWALD

Reasoning Together

WASHINGTON — I am one of those people who believes that the tobacco companies should advertise in newspapers to get their message of brotherhood across. The reason for this is that cigarette manufacturers are spending more money than Macy's in newspaper advertising, begging smokers and nonsmokers to leave each other.



Buchwald

Their plea is to keep government from regulating what we put in our mouths and to stop the police from using tear gas when they discover cigarette smoke coming out of somebody's window. Their slogan is, "Together we can work it out." The obvious question is, "Are they out of their blinkin' minds?"

The tobacco companies' appeal just won't work. I was in a restaurant the other day in what is known in eating places as

'Natural Born Killers' Gets Screening in U.K.

Reuters

LONDON — The film "Natural Born Killers" was applauded by an audience in London after what could be its only British screening. More than 800 people packed a West End theater to see Oliver Stone's tale of how a serial-killing couple go on a murderous rampage and are glorified by the media.

The film has been linked to copycat killings in the United States and France and has yet to win British certification after the Board of Film Classification could not agree on a rating. The late-night screening on Sunday was part of the London Film Festival under a special temporary license.

Marcel Ophuls: Seeking Truth in an Uneasy Present

By Joan Dupont

PARIS — The apartment bordering the Bois de Boulogne is spacious, spars of memorabilia — few paintings, no knickknack souvenirs. Marcel Ophuls, who has been living here, with interruptions, since the building went up in 1936, has spent his life examining layers of memory and consciousness, the shameful past, the uneasy present. He has provoked, manipulated or fascinated, depending on where you sit, but he has revolutionized the documentary form from a droning, truth-telling form to a marathon event that mixes news clips, fiction and musical comedy.

"People like Fred Wiseman, Claude Lanzmann and myself are aware that implicating ourselves in the film making our choices known, and showing that we're part of the show-business tradition, means telling a story, making people come alive on screen. To give audiences the choice of agreeing or disagreeing with my views, I put myself on the screen, even though I know I'm not Cary Grant, too old, too bald — because it has to do with Sarajevo; like many shocking things, it has to be faced."

Today, he gets up to make coffee, opens and shuts door, flies to the phone; he points out that his Oscar, standing behind the door, was won not for "The Sorrow and the Fury" but for "Hotel Terminus," his film about Klaus Barbie, and that the small lacquered table where he sits was where his father held story conferences. He has forgotten about the coffee.

"I've developed something that may seem shocking for a documentary filmmaker who is supposed to be preoccupied only with content, only with virtue, especially if he handles epic tragic themes with real people suffering and dying. But a filmmaker, if he has any artistic ambition, has to become more interested in form than in content. Of course that sounds shocking in connection with Sarajevo; like many shocking things, it has to be faced."

The film begins with an excerpt from Max Ophuls's "Mayerling to Sarajevo." My father was shooting the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in the south of France on the day the Second World War broke out, so this was a way to approach Sarajevo today. I knew I wanted to get at Christmas in the snow."

Marcel Ophuls arrives at the Holiday Inn at the Holy Day Inn to the tune of Bing Crosby singing "White Christmas," a guest appearance out of the past; the Marx brothers show up; Jimmy Cagney tap dancing and Laurence Olivier's "touch of Harry in the night" from "Henry V" counterpoint the drama of the besieged city. "Some young people may not get the references; they may not make the emotional link to Sarajevo, the place where our culture is going to pot."

Although his films look tightly plotted, the director says that there is more improvisation than planning: "How can you predict what's going to happen, and if you can, you shouldn't. I didn't choose any of my

Unknown Woman" and "Lola Montés." Marcel Ophuls has developed his own ingenious style and an unorthodox way of interviewing. He interrupts, laughs encouragingly, asks an insidious question, poker-faced. Now 67, an opinionated man with trenchant humor, he is not easy to pin down.

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Marcel Ophuls with the BBC correspondent John Simpson.

characters, nobody was auditioned. People are interesting, if you just let them talk, if you let God be your co-pilot, chance meetings pay off. The real work is the story-telling."

After shooting, he sits six months pulling the strands together, writing a complete, annotated script: "I would commit suicide if he had to watch 120 hours of rushes," he exclaims.

There is enough material for another film on his shelves, but he wants to go back to Sarajevo because he hasn't been close enough to the bullets. "War correspondents are today's resistance fighters and I don't think you can make a film about courage unless you're there; you can't be an armchair critic. Even at my advanced age, I've discovered the thrill of adrenaline flowing and the idea that we're doing something against the cynicism of our times."

He blames the "democratization of cynicism" on television, rock culture, and gurus like Roland Barthes, he was probably right."

In 1981, all the French networks scrambled to get the documentary

Michel Foucault and Jacques Lacan, "pandering to the young, the arrested development people — instead of becoming mature, these people became yuppies. We started with narcissism in '68 and now that pseudo-revolt has turned into complicity with the system."

The polemical and politically incorrect filmmaker, who studied philosophy at the Sorbonne, describes his role as that of an agent provocateur. "The Sorrow and the Fury," made for television, was banned for a decade on French TV. "When de Gaulle asked what the film was about, he was told it showed certain truths about resistance, collaboration and the French. The General said, 'Truths? But France needs hope, dignity and a future, not truths.' Ophuls laughs, adding, "From the General's point of view,

he was probably right."

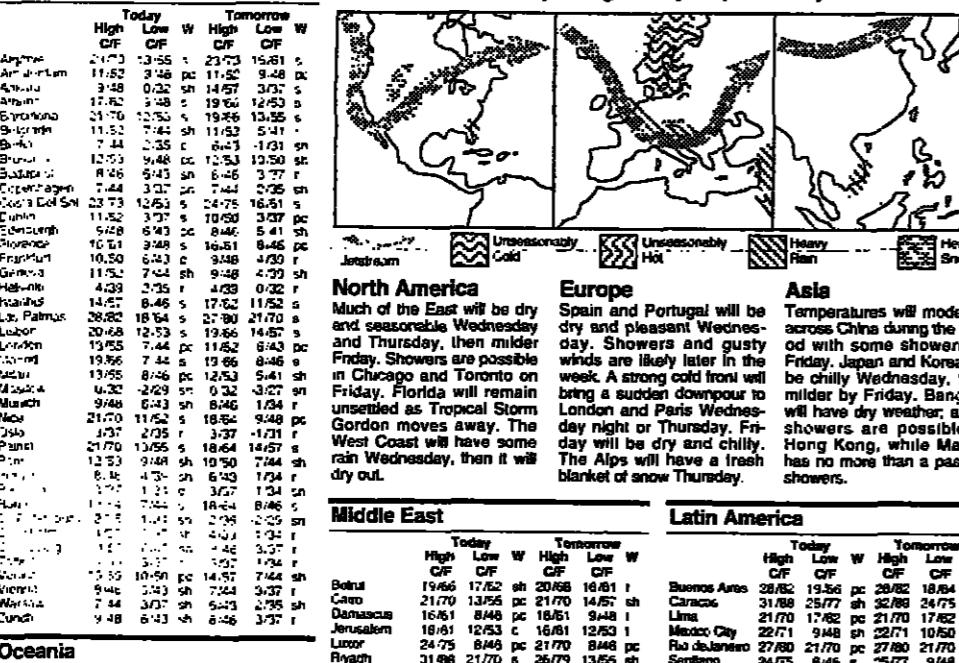
On the Chicago film festival jury recently, he saw films that crosscut between fiction and nonfiction the way his do. "I discovered that we all have the same preoccupation and deal with it formally in the same way.

Es liegt der Luft — it's in the air — my father would have said."

Joan Dupont is a Paris-based writer.

WEATHER

Europe



Asia

	Today	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
High	High	Low	W	High
Low	Low	W	W	Low
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
OF	OF	OF	OF	OF

Africa

	Today	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
High	High	Low	W	High
Low	Low	W	W	Low
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
OF	OF	OF	OF	OF

North America

	Today	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
High	High	Low	W	High
Low	Low	W	W	Low
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
OF	OF	OF	OF	OF

Latin America

	Today	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
High	High	Low	W	High
Low	Low	W	W	Low
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
OF	OF	OF	OF	OF

Middle East

	Today	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
High	High	Low	W	High
Low	Low	W	W	Low
CF	CF	CF	CF	CF
OF	OF	OF	OF	OF

THE lady may be a 3.2 million-year-old fossil, but she still has what it takes to be the guest of honor at a black-tie dinner at the Metropolitan Club in New York. The Institute of Human Origins, which usually honors a living scientist at its annual benefit, is celebrating the 20th anniversary of the discovery of Lucy, the skeleton of one of man's oldest ancestors. However, Lucy won't be at the party. "She is resting in a wooden box in a safe in Addis Ababa," said Dr. Donald Johanson, one of the scientists who found her in Ethiopia in 1974.

A. M. Rosenthal, the former executive editor of The New York Times and a columnist for the newspaper, will receive the Light of Truth Award from the International Campaign for Tibet for his efforts to expose the plight of the Tibetan people.

Princess Diana, 33, is coming out of semi-retirement with a vengeance. She was attending a reception Monday where British Red Cross officials were to announce that she will head their fund-raising campaign for next year's 125th anniversary of

the organization. The high-profile charity role has been heralded as the end of the withdrawal from public life she declared suddenly last December, and comes amid media reports depicting her as lonely and unstable but determined to fight a hostile royal machine. However, a Buckingham Palace spokeswoman said the Red Cross role "should not be seen as a 'comeback.'" Coincidentally, or not so coincidentally, while she did her bit for the Red Cross, her estranged husband, Prince Charles, was celebrating his 46th birthday.

Alessandra Mussolini, 32, the granddaughter of Benito Mussolini, is expecting her first child in July. Mussolini, a member of the Chamber of Deputies for the neo-fascist National Alliance party, said she planned to keep working. "It may slow me down some, but I really want to deal with it as if I were a man," she said. She is married to Mauro Floriani, an officer of Italy's tax police.

Didier Van Cauwelaert, 34, has won the Prix Goncourt, France's most prestigious literary award, for "Un Aller simple" (One-Way Ticket), a poetic satire of France's immigration laws. The prize carries a symbolic cash award of 50 francs (\$9). Another literary prize, the Prix Renaudot, was given to Guillaume Le Touze, 26, for his novel "Comme ton père" (Like Your Father).



Didier Van Cauwelaert.

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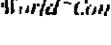
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